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SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

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THE SHAPE OF A CITY

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON SUCRE, BOLIVIA

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The city of Sucre, Bolivia, reveals its social and political history in its physical structure.¹ It has followed several patterns of organization and growth, the results of which are visible today. These patterns, in some respects, contrast with the concentric zone and other patterns which have been set out as the modes of growth of some cities in the United States.²

The Spanish colonial city was founded in 1538 or 1539 on the site of an administrative center of the Incan empire. The location offered a tractable and intelligent slave population, a pleasant setting on the eastward slope of the mountains, with a temperate climate which attracted the officials and others who were stationed at the adjacent and bleak silver mountain of Potosi. Finally, Sucre became the administrative center of Alto Peru and the seat of the Archbishopric.

By reason of a series of economic and political changes, Sucre is no longer of prime importance in national life, being supplanted by La Paz, Cochabamba, Oruru, and other centers of political, commercial, and mining activity. In 1898 the national capital was established by force in La Paz; and Sucre today is a provincial capital and marketing center, the Supreme Court being the only remnant of its former authority. The University of San Francisco Xavier, the fourth oldest in the Americas, gives continued cause for pride.

¹ The authors made a community study there in 1941 and 1942. Sucre is the former capital of Bolivia, at an elevation of 8,500 feet and with a population of approximately 30,000. For description and statistical data on the city see "Stratification in a Latin American City," H. B. and A. E. Hawthorn, to be published in *Social Forces*.

² E. C. Llewellyn and A. E. Hawthorn, "Human Ecology," Chap. XVI, *Twentieth Century Sociology*, Georges Gurvitch and Wilbur Moore, editors, New York; R. E. Park, E. W. Burgess, and R. D. McKenzie, *The City*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1925; R. D. McKenzie, "The Field and Problems of Demography, Human Geography and Human Ecology," in L. I. Bernard, editor, *The Fields and Methods of Sociology*, New York: Ray Long and Richard Smith, 1934; R. E. Park "Sociology," in Wilson P. Gee, editor, *Research in the Social Sciences*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929.

In all, six main factors have operated to form the general plan of the city throughout its history. The first of these was the decreed design of the city, laid down in detail for Spanish colonial cities.³ The resultant striving for central residential position, which symbolized social rank, has had a lasting effect on the life as well as the plan of the city.⁴ Later developments in city life modified the earlier pattern. Complications, for example, were introduced by the convenience of having the service trades close at hand and by the impoverishment of the formerly wealthy, so that the lower floor of many upper-class residences became rented to tradesmen and shopkeepers. Another contradictory note was introduced by the type of dwelling known as the *casa quinta*, a spacious garden retreat within the city limits. In modern times this has been replaced by the upper-class suburban home, located beyond the area in which families of high estate ordinarily live. Recent commercial, banking, and railroad projects have demanded changes not consonant with the early plan; a bank and retail agency now occupy some of the former upper-class residences on the plaza itself. In addition, topography has, from the beginning, exerted a strong influence on the patterning of the city. Sucre was first constructed along a spur leading downward from two high hills and branching outward. Because of drainage, therefore, the desirability of sites has, in large part, been determined by the need for location on high ground as well as proximity to the plaza.⁵ The resulting shape of the city has been a diamond, rather than the square which was ordained for the colonial city.⁶ This has influenced the basic pattern, so that the distribution of upper- and middle-class residences takes the form of a cross with arms elongated along the axis of the spur.

The Laws of the Indies were designed to assure the orderly patterning of the cities of the New World. They gave first attention to the selection of a site and then specified the manner of construction. The basic city

³ The pre-Spanish pattern of Sucre could not be established. It is the opinion of Francis Violič that town planning by the Incan authorities was generally in accordance with the Spanish patterns as set out in "The Laws of the Indies," Francis Violič, *Cities of Latin America*, New York: Reinhold, 1944.

⁴ Asael Hansen, "Ecology of a Latin American City," in E. B. Reuter, editor, *Race and Culture Contacts* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1934), pp. 125-29. Hansen reports the same relation between social rank and location in the growth of Merida and sees a fundamental social division between the Center and the Barrio.

⁵ Donald Pierson, *Negroes in Brazil*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942. Pierson noted that upper-class residences in Brazil were located in the hills, those of the lower class in the valleys.

⁶ See Hawthorn, *loc. cit.*, for fuller description of city location and topography.

plan was rectangular, with a square plaza in the center. The side of a city block was fixed at 112 meters and the width of a street at 39 meters. The first permanent constructions of the Spaniards were the massive buildings of church and government erected around the central square. Private residences abutted these buildings, proximity indicating rank. The University and some later buildings of state and church grew up as near as possible to the plaza, but their locations, perforce, stood at distances of several blocks away.

The city was expected to grow evenly outward. In the outer districts, the *suburbios*, lived the urbanized Indian and the *mestizo* or *cholo*. These districts lacked (and to a large extent, still do today) the material conveniences and services of the inner portion. Roads are frequently narrow and rough, and plumbing and electricity have not yet been introduced. These outer areas were divided into local administrative units called *barrios*. For Merida, Hansen describes the *barrios* as primary centers of loyalty and contact for those who dwell within them. This would largely be true of Sucre at the present time.⁷

The early nineteenth century found a fairly wealthy, cosmopolitan city, with a predominantly Spanish aristocracy. The fringe of clerks and lesser officers who constituted a middle class lived in less imposing houses, two-storied, but with fewer rooms, a smaller patio, and less elaborate ornamentation, with simpler balconies and doors, and farther away from the plaza. The *indio* and *cholo* majority lived in stone and adobe huts stretching out along the often unpaved and dusty roads of the *suburbios*.

With the wars of independence the *cholo* took on a new importance. He rose to prominence in the army and received promises designed to enlist his aid. Restrictions such as those on the type of dress he might wear were removed. Political, educational, and economic opportunities opened up. Social changes continued throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century. Increased immigration brought numbers of Spaniards, Yugoslavs, Syrians, and other Near-Eastern groups, along with some French, Scotch, English, and Germans. Some of these introduced new skills, formed larger commercial enterprises, and started new industries for the manufacture of cigarettes, toys, leather goods, and chocolates. They married into local families, and their business and factory buildings made some slight changes in the aspect of the city. In general, commercial establishments were set up as near to the plaza as possible, the merchants purchasing

⁷ Hansen, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-28.

and converting private residences for this purpose, in some cases leaving the upper story for residential use. On the other hand, factories occupied the cheaper land of the *suburbios*, which was also nearer to the labor force.

One effect of the nineteenth century was a greatly increased social competition. Social mobility accelerated, and with it competition for the residential symbols of status. Yet with all of these changes, the outward aspect of the city altered surprisingly little. Old families dropped out of sight, new ones occupied the houses on the plaza, but the gradation of house-types and the general pattern remained recognizably the same. The new commercial and industrial influences were relatively less strong than in Lima and other major colonial cities which have retained their importance and in whose center zones all other functions have grown secondary to the purposes of commerce, finance, and amusement.

Probably affected by French influences, one type of residence grew in importance in the same period. This was the *casa quinta*, a large house away from the center of the city with high walls that excluded the slums of the *suburbios* and surrounded a garden, orchard, pool, and shaded walks. This might be regarded as a forerunner of the present century's new suburban developments and new streets, lined with single-family dwellings of familiar modern design, set on a plot behind a low wall or hedge. Again, the more conservative provincial pattern of Sucre, subjected to fewer forces for change, may be contrasted with that of Mexico City, La Paz, and other modern capitals, where whole new suburban districts of this type have been added to the city.

The earlier family pattern in Sucre was the extended type, and this was recognized by the allotment of a whole residential block to a family of sufficient importance. The individual family units dwelt in apartments within the block, as did the servants and their children. As this family form changed, with the individual family emerging as a responsible, isolated unit, most of the family holdings were split up into individual apartments under separate ownership or tenancy. The new pattern of single suburban houses fits this form, and it may be forecast that it will grow further in Sucre.

A similar growth of suburbs has been increasing throughout Latin America.⁸ This trend may be related also to the change of the tradition which saw the plaza as the only desirable place to live, and to improve-

⁸ K. Davis and Ana Casia, "Urbanization in Latin America," *Milbank Fund Quarterly*, 24:11, April 1946.

ments of communication, such as paved roads, automobiles, busses, street-cars, and telephones. The increase of suburban development may possibly see an ultimate disappearance of the desirability of the plaza, as has occurred in Lima. This will probably not occur for many years, but the changed pattern would then make the city as a whole more conformable to the plan of the cities of the United States. Further suburban settlement may take place along new arterial roads which lead to an airport and to a group of oil fields.

Paralleling these changes has been a slight blurring of the social class gradations in residential location. As upper-class families declined through death or loss of wealth, the apartments of their block-wide houses became available to the upward-mobile middle class. Some of those apartments on the first floor were rented as shops or workshops, a process which had begun toward the end of the colonial era. In this way the artisan, tailor, ironworker, carpenter, and *cholo* shopkeeper moved in with his family into the first floor,⁹ and a map of Sucre showing current distribution of families according to social class would indicate that lower-class families reside on nearly every block in the city.

In summary, the basic pattern of Sucre, as of other colonial cities, placed the buildings of government, church, and aristocracy around a central square, with the streets leading out at right angles. This square plan was superimposed over the sloping topography of the site of Sucre so that the higher ground was covered by these buildings, leaving the outer and lower areas for the *suburbios*. The pattern of upper- and middle-class residences has now been distorted from a regular square by the extension of high ground away from the plaza. As the form of the extended family has changed, single-family apartments and residences have tended to replace the larger family houses, although the vanishing of caste restrictions has not of itself meant a change in the form of dwelling. Shops, banks, and commercial agencies occupy space in the formerly exclusive area adjoining the plaza, and with improvement in communications, middle- and upper-class families have moved to the new modern suburbs, a development which is quite distinct from that of the other *suburbio*.

⁹ Violich describes the renting of this space on the side street, the "Calle Atravesado," which became a social term, denoting the rank of those who lived there.

VALUATION IN PRESENTING SCIENTIFIC DATA

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New York, New York

There has been much concern in recent scientific literature with the question of the relationship of valuation to objective research and to the presentation of factual data. Myrdal, for example, has stressed the importance of unconscious biases in sociological interpretation.¹ Bowman has discussed hidden evaluations in the teaching of sexual and family relationship data.² Wolff has shown how valuations enter into sociological researches.³ Hull has examined the place of moral values in scientific methodology.⁴ Benjamin has emphasized the impossibility of excluding the pursuit of values even from the physical sciences.⁵

Granting, as these writers uniformly do, that it is not possible to exclude considerations of value from scientific research and presentation, the question arises: What, precisely, should be done about underlying evaluative biases? Should scientists in general and social scientists in particular (1) make determined efforts to deny, or cancel out, the values now implicit in their writing and teaching? or (2) consciously bolster and uphold these values? or (3) completely ignore the whole question of value premises by dealing only with bare facts?

The purpose of this paper is to consider the implications of these possible choices of action (or inaction).

I

The first possible approach to the problem of valuation may be called the cautious or negative approach. This is admirably advocated in Professor Bowman's discussion of the interpretation of sexual and family relationships. Bowman quite accurately points out that the teaching by sociologists of such facts as the difficulties of modern marriage, birth control, biological realism, and the struggle for women's rights contains what Myrdal terms "value premises." This, Bowman implies, is not quite

¹ Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1944), p. 1027.

² Claude C. Bowman, "Hidden Valuations in the Interpretation of Sexual and Family Relationships," *American Sociological Review*, 11:536-44, October 1946.

³ Kurt H. Wolff, "Notes toward a Sociocultural Interpretation of American Sociology," *American Sociological Review*, 11:545-53, October 1946.

⁴ Clark L. Hull, "Moral Values, Behaviorism, and the World Crisis," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 7:90-94, January 1945.

⁵ A. Cornelius Benjamin, "Science and the Pursuit of Values," *Scientific Monthly*, 63:305-13, October 1946.

scientific. He therefore advocates that the values implicit in this manner of presenting sexual and family relationships be consciously recognized by authors and teachers, and that, to counteract these hidden valuations, the interpreters do the following things: (1) "include a critical estimate of both new satisfactions *and new problems* [Bowman's italics] that are likely to result from changes in the sexual mores," (2) employ "a more constructive approach, based upon research material . . . rather than a continued flouting of the old mores," (3) demand from themselves "a spirit of humility . . . to an extraordinary degree."

Now there can be little doubt that Professor Bowman presents here a definite and consistent approach to the problem of valuation in scientific presentation. What, however, are its implications? They seem to be as follows.

1. If the writer or teacher goes out of his way always to include a critical estimate of new satisfactions *and new problems* that are likely to result from changes in mores, will he not most often tend to see those problems in the reference frame of the existing mores, and consequently to exaggerate or falsify them? Thus, Bowman criticizes Bertrand Russell's disparagement of the traditional concepts of marital fidelity by asking, "Does he realize that, especially in the middle years of life, men and women do not have equal opportunities for romantic experiences outside of marriage?" Of course men and women do not have equal romantic possibilities *under the present mores*. But under the system of sexual mores that Russell envisions they probably would. Emphasizing the new problems, as well as the satisfactions, to be encountered under changed mores is fine—if one can really do so objectively. But, it may be safely wagered, most interpreters who emphasize such problems (whether or not they realize the fact) thereby subtly uphold the existing mores and thus maintain definite value premises—specifically *conservative* evaluations.

2. If the scientific presenter, as Bowman advocates, employs a "more constructive approach, based upon research material . . . rather than a continued flouting of the old mores," will he not again, almost as definitely as is possible, be taking a stand for what *was* and *is*, as against what *might be*? For, implicit in his stand, will be the assumptions (a) that the existing mores are worth constructive handling, and (b) that they do not merit continual flouting. Both these premises are decidedly evaluative ones. To illustrate, suppose a teacher is discussing the age-old custom of defending state sovereignty up to and including international war. If he follows Bowman's dictum to the letter he will (a) have to be

constructive about—that is, to further—such things as state sovereignty and war, and (b) refuse to flout them. If so, will he not be upholding nationalistic, martial values as against, say, international, peaceful values? Is not "constructiveness," as Bowman uses the term, most apt to be used as a shoring up of status quo values and a barrier to the construction of future, and potentially better, ones?

3. If social (and other) scientists demand from themselves a spirit of humility to an extraordinary degree, will they not be asking themselves to be humble in the face of what is—and weak in the knees, perhaps, in the face of what might be? Will they not be, monotonously, taking the same old stand—the same old *value* stand—on the side of conservatism, the status quo, and potential reaction?

It may be observed, then, that while Bowman's view on the problem of evaluation in scientific presentation is indeed logical, consistent, and definite, it essentially seems to boil down to an avouchment *for* conservative, status quo values and *against* progressive, experimental ones. Thus, it is significant that his article points out the evaluation dangers of presenting the mere facts of such things as birth control, biological realism, and women's rights—all of which, most present-day sociologists would surely agree, imply decidedly *progressive* values.

II

If Professor Bowman's attitude toward value premises in sociological interpretation be taken as typical of those advocating the cautious denial or canceling out of these premises, then those who advocate bolstering or upholding the value premises would presumably hold an opposing set of notions in the same area. Thus, a proponent of the frank sponsorship of values in scientific presentation would probably make the following contentions: (1) Both new problems and satisfactions involved in changing existing mores should be critically estimated; but where the interpreter is convinced that the facts show many serious problems and relatively few satisfactions, interpretative emphasis should be on the satisfactions to be gained by social change rather than on the difficulties involved in such change. (2) A flouting of old mores, even in a destructive manner, is quite desirable—not to say necessary—if they happen to be vicious mores and if they fully merit destructive criticism. (3) An extraordinary degree of humility toward old mores is never warranted merely because they *do* exist, possess *some* benefits, and would be difficult to change.

It may be seen at once that the foregoing assumptions, while frankly evaluational do not, like Bowman's, support the status quo. On the con-

trary, they are potentially progressive, experimental, and revolutionary. And, quite logically, their proponents would of course tend to teach, without qualm, the facts about birth control, biological realism, and women's rights—about all of which Bowman appears to be most squeamish.

The main lesson of the foregoing analysis seems to be this: That any attempt to eliminate, deny, or cancel out values from scientific interpretation will tend to uphold the status quo; while any frank inclusion of value premises will tend to bolster the status quo only when, in the light of the knowledge of the presenter, it seems to be truly worth upholding. Although both these stands are indubitably evaluational, the former includes a distinct conservative bias, while the latter at least leaves the door open for a more forward-looking viewpoint.

III

What of the third major possibility: that of trying to ignore completely the issue of value premises by merely presenting the bare facts? Fortunately or not, there is no such possibility. As Bowman rightly puts it: "Facts themselves can influence attitudes and behavior. This is fact propaganda." It is precisely those who try to ignore the problem of evaluation in scientific interpretation who are often most evaluative. In practice, most of these presenters probably fall closer to the second than to the first category examined in this paper: that is to say, they observe the facts, comment on them, and because these facts (as might well be expected at this stage of human development) are so often against the existing status quo, leave their audience with the impression that this status quo should be changed. In other words, they propound progressive evaluations without being fully aware that they are doing so. The danger is that, being unconscious of what they do and having no control over what might be called their experimental procedure of presentation, they lack that degree of scientific accuracy which only maximum self-insight can give. Whereas scientific workers who realize the evaluative implications of their factual presentations and either shy away from or accept them are both acting scientifically, this third type of in-between presenters are really self-deluded, and hence unscientific. Consequently, they must be condemned.

This point perhaps bears repetition: that to have conscious value premises, good or bad, conservative or progressive, is to be (all other scientific requisites being met) duly scientific; to have unconscious value premises is, to some extent, to be unscientific; and to have neither conscious nor unconscious value premises is to be—well, nonhuman.

IV

Is, then, the positive, side-taking approach to the problem of evaluation in scientific interpretation the one to be espoused? It would certainly seem so. Naturally, it has its dangers and disadvantages. For example, it may be employed by reactionaries as well as progressives, may lead to the presentation of a biased selection of "facts," may seem to detract from scientific "objectivity." But at least it will be opinionated in an honest, aboveboard manner instead of in the subtle, disguised one that is so prevalent today.

It must of course be remembered that the thing being discussed is scientific presentation of data—as distinct, presumably, from popular, uninformed, or unscientific presentation. The individuals doing the presentation, it may be assumed, are scientists. And for this very distinct—and as yet very limited—class of human beings, the frank espousal of value premises of objective data should, in the great majority of cases, mean the following things:

1. Since scientists are relatively free from emotional, conventional, and other biases, their value premises will tend to follow from, or be innate in, the facts at their disposal. That is to say, the values of scientists will tend to be relatively objective ones.

2. Since scientists, by definition, try to accumulate accurate data and to have more such data at their disposal than any other human group, the evaluations they draw from these data will be relatively sound ones. Myrdal's term "value premise" is a particularly good one in this connection, since it implies that the value is premised on facts and does not arise independently of them. At least, in the hands of true scientists, that is what the term should come to mean.

3. Since scientists are generally noted for their careful thinking and acute analyses, their evaluations will tend to be logical ones, intimately related to the facts at hand.

In other words, since human beings cannot avoid being evaluative in their factual presentations, since scientists are uniquely trained to handle, analyze, and interpret facts, and since if they do not present their frank evaluations of data some other less trained, less accurate, and more biased groups most certainly will, it would seem to be not only desirable but absolutely imperative for scientific workers to interpret, consciously, honestly, and forthrightly, the values implied by the facts at their command. To shirk this responsibility is only to subscribe, by default, to potentially conservative and reactionary attitudes and to leave the field of value interpretation wide open to those who are usually least qualified to take it over.

MARITAL ADJUSTMENT OF DIVORCED PERSONS IN SUBSEQUENT MARRIAGES

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This paper is a report of an exploratory study of the problem: Do divorced persons constitute good or bad risks in subsequent marriages? An answer to this question was attempted by comparing the marital adjustment scores of a group of divorced persons who were *married to new mates* with the scores of a group of persons *married only once*.

The problem grew out of a larger research study by one of the authors on the prediction of marital adjustment by comparing a divorced and a happily married group. Subjects were asked to rate the happiness of their present marriage on a fivefold happiness scale (very happy, happy, average, unhappy, and very unhappy). Of the 146 persons in the divorced sample who gave information on the happiness of their present marriage, three fourths rated their current marriage as happy or very happy. Of the happily married group 15 men and women had had prior marriages which ended in divorce. On the basis of this small sample no statistical difference was found between the mean marital adjustment score of these persons and that of the rest of the married group.¹ These data from the divorced and happily married groups resulted in the hypothesis that there is no difference in the degree of marital adjustment of divorced persons in subsequent marriages and persons married only once.

The present study attempted to test this hypothesis. Two groups were secured: one of 47 persons who had been divorced and had entered into subsequent marriages and the other of 64 persons who had been married only once. The cases were obtained through members of sociology courses, who distributed questionnaires to persons of their acquaintance. The sample was drawn from the Los Angeles metropolitan area.

Only two restrictions were imposed in gathering the data. The student was asked to secure only those marriages which had been in existence for not less than one nor more than fifteen years and to try to obtain persons from each group. This admittedly crude attempt to obtain somewhat homogeneous groups in terms of length of marriage worked rather well; only 4 per cent of the marriages secured were of less than one year's duration and 4 per cent exceeded 15 years.

¹ Harvey J. Locke, "Predicting Marital Adjustment by Comparing a Divorced and a Happily Married Group," *American Sociological Review*, 12:189, April 1947.

A total of 350 questionnaires were distributed to students and of these 127, or 36.3 per cent, were returned.² This one-third return raises the question of whether the results would have differed had all questionnaires been returned.

The social characteristics of the divorced-remarried and the married-once-only groups were fairly comparable in religious faith, educational attainment, level of yearly income, sex distribution, and nationality. Both the groups were predominantly Protestant, 60 and 61 per cent respectively, while 14.9 per cent and 11 per cent were Catholic. Four per cent of the divorced-remarried group and 6 per cent of the married-once-only group were Jewish and about one fifth of both groups claimed to have no church affiliation. The median for years of education of the divorced-remarried group was 13.4 and the median for the married-once-only sample was about 14.3 years. A yearly family income of less than \$3,000 was obtained by 48.7 per cent of the remarried group and by 54.8 per cent of the married-once-onlys. The sex distribution was fairly equal; males constituted 44.7 per cent and 48.4 per cent respectively of the two groups. About 61.7 per cent of the divorced-remarried group and 70.3 per cent of the married-once-only group were American born of American-born parents and about one in 25 and one in 10 respectively were of foreign birth.

In considering the significance of the findings given below, certain limitations of the study should be kept in mind: the smallness of the samples, the more or less incidental matching of the experimental and the control group, the unrepresentative character of the samples as indicated by their educational level, the exclusion of divorced persons where re-marriage had not occurred, and the inclusion of persons who had more than one prior marriage.

The following analysis is based on the marital adjustment scores obtained by the Burgess-Cottrell marital adjustment scale.³ It will be remembered that this scale is composed of 26 weighted items and that these items are concerned with the extent of agreement or disagreement present in the marriage, how disagreements are settled, the amount of common interests and activities engaged in by husband and wife, demonstration of

² Of these, 16 were not utilized for the following reasons: (1) 11 were completed by colored persons and were not used because of the small number represented; (2) one divorced-remarried person returned a completed questionnaire but answered all questions on the basis of his first marriage; (3) two divorced persons returned questionnaires, but they had not remarried, and (4) two persons returned questionnaires which were short one page of the marital adjustment scale.

³ E. W. Burgess and L. S. Cottrell, *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage* (New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1939), pp. 64-65.

affection between mates, dissatisfactions with marriage, and feelings of unhappiness and lonesomeness. Possible adjustment scores range from 4 to 194 points.⁴

Three types of comparisons were made: (1) the total married-once-only men and women with the total divorced-remarried group; (2) the married-once-only women with the divorced-remarried women and a like comparison of the men; and (3) the men with the women of the corresponding group.

In his previous study Locke took both men and women from his happily married sample who had a prior marriage ending in divorce and compared these men and women with the total remaining men and women cases of his happily married sample. A similar procedure was followed in the present study by a comparison of the combined scores of men and women in the two groups. The results indicated that the divorced-remarried group achieved as high a degree of adjustment in present marriages as the persons who were married only once. The respective mean scores were 149 and 151.

It was then decided to make an additional comparison of these two groups in terms of the three general categories of poor, fair, and good adjustment used by Burgess and Cottrell. In this comparison, scores ranging from 20 to 119 points inclusive are said to indicate "poor" marital adjustment, from 120 to 159 points "fair" adjustment, and from 160 to 194 points "good" adjustment. The distribution of the scores of the two groups in these three categories was quite similar. The divorced-remarried and the married-once-only groups showed 44.7 per cent and 50.0 per cent respectively in the "good" adjustment category; 38.3 and 39.1 per cent in the "fair," and 17.0 per cent and 10.9 per cent in the "poor" adjustment category.

⁴ As no attempt was made to obtain the cases of both husband and wife, it was necessary to decide whether to include as separate cases the few husbands and their wives where both sides of the marriage were secured. The question arising from these instances was: Would the inclusion of such cases distort the findings derived from the total group represented? Specifically, would the fact that there were fourteen marriages in the married-once-only group in which the scores of both partners were secured tend toward duplication or "stacking," thus influencing the total adjustment picture of that group?

A test was made to see if this was true. Mean marital adjustment scores were worked out for three groups: (1) the divorced-remarried; (2) the married-once-only, including all cases as separate individuals, even though the cases of the spouse were included; and (3) the married-once-only, including only one side of the 14 cases where questionnaires were secured from both mates. The divorced, the married-once-only with all cases, and the married-once-only singleton cases did not differ significantly in their mean adjustment scores, the respective means being 149, 151, and 154.5. Consequently, it was concluded that all cases could be utilized for further comparisons, treating the marriage partners, in instances where they were matched, as individuals and including them in the respective groups.

The second type of comparison was by sex. When the scores of divorced-remarried women were compared with those of the women married only once, the mean scores of the two groups did not differ significantly. The mean for divorced-remarried women was slightly higher than that of women married only once, the respective means being 157 and 151 points. (CR was .76)

Thus far the data verified the original hypothesis. However, the hypothesis was not verified when the scores of divorced-remarried men were compared with the scores of men married only once. Men who had been divorced and remarried did not achieve as high a degree of adjustment in their subsequent marriages as did the men who continued in their first marriages. The average adjustment score of those males who had had prior marriages terminated by divorce was 138 as compared with 159 for those who had been married only once. The difference of 21 points in the means of these two groups is probably significant, as the CR of 2.33 indicates that the difference in the degree of adjustment is probably a real one and not due to chance.

Although no statistical significance was found in the difference in adjustment between the two groups of men in any one of the three categories of "good," "fair," and "poor" adjustment, when "fair" and "poor" were combined, the CR of the difference between the per cent of divorced-remarried and married-once-only men was 2.18, indicating that the difference was probably a real one.

If divorced women are good risks and divorced men are poor risks in subsequent marriages as compared with persons married only once, one would expect a difference between the degree of marital adjustment of divorced men and women in subsequent marriages or a difference of marital adjustment of men and women in the married-once-only group. This question initiated the third comparison. It was found that the adjustment scores of married-once-only husbands did not differ significantly from the scores of the married-once-only wives, the respective means being 159 and 151. (CR was 1.26)

There was a 19-point difference between the means of the divorced-remarried husbands and the divorced-remarried wives, the respective means being 138 and 157, with a CR of 1.88. While this difference is not significant on the 5 per cent level, the suggestion is that failure to get a statistically significant difference may be due to the smallness of the sample. The critical ratio is large enough to support the tentative conclusion that divorced men and divorced women differ in their adjustment in subsequent marriage.

Summary. (1) When the combined men's and women's scores were compared, there was no significant difference between the divorced-remarried and the married-once-only group. (2) Divorced-remarried women were as well adjusted in their present marriages as women who had remained married to their first mates. (3) Divorced-remarried men were less adjusted in their present marriages than those men who were in their first marriages. The latter finding makes it necessary to modify the original hypothesis that there is no difference between the degree of marital adjustment achieved by persons who have been divorced and remarried and persons who remained married to their original mates. The new hypothesis is that divorced-remarried women are as good risks in their subsequent marriages as women who marry only once, whereas divorced-remarried men are not as good risks as those men who marry only once. This modification of the original hypothesis is being subjected to possible verification or refutation by research now in process.

GLEN E. CARLSON: 1896-1948

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On May 24, 1948, Glen E. Carlson died suddenly of a heart attack. He had begun one of his afternoon classes and upon feeling ill had dismissed the class. Most men in that circumstance would have returned home to the comfort of a davenport, but Carlson remained in his office until he thought he was well enough to attend a meeting of the Redlands Coordinating Council of Social Agencies, an organization he had helped create and with whose program he was vitally concerned. During the meeting he became ill again and this time decided to visit his doctor, at whose office he died.

Dr. Carlson's last hours were characteristic of his mode of life. He was essentially a man of action. His time and talents were spread over a wide variety of fields—education, social work, public service, and outdoor life. Since coming to California in 1931 he had been an active participant in at least twenty-four separate social agencies. In 1933, because of his activities in the San Bernardino County Council of Social Agencies, he was appointed by Governor Merriam of California to the State Relief Commission. For eighteen months he served as acting chairman, administering the state relief program. During this period he continued teaching his regular classes at the University of Redlands. Every Thursday after his last class he boarded a plane for San Francisco and returned by air the following Monday morning to resume teaching. His work on the State Relief Commission drew the attention of Frances Perkins, then Secretary of Labor, who appointed him a member of a Wages and Hours Panel of the Department of Labor. This work called for occasional week-end flights, this time to Washington, D. C.

Two classes and an office hour at the University were usually only the beginning of a well-packed day. His many connections made it necessary for him to move by a rigidly kept schedule. It was a common sight to see him pull out his watch and with a word of excuse dash to his car to make an appointment in Redlands, San Bernardino, Chino, Los Angeles, or Sacramento. And I have rarely seen him arrive late for a meeting, except at those times when two or three responsibilities fell within the same period.

Carlson's automobile was almost an appendage of the man and in many respects was much like the man himself. Vigorous, immaculate, ready to

go at a moment's notice, it always gave a most efficient performance. When one rode with Carlson he was conscious of speed and power under good control, heading with no unnecessary delays toward a purposeful goal.

Not least of Carlson's many activities was his interest in hunting and fishing and the conservation of wild life. He climbed all over the San Bernardino Mountains searching for deer in the hunting season and mountain trout in the fishing season. In these pursuits he was usually accompanied by a wide assortment of persons from all social levels. All of them regarded him as a first-rate sportsman. Like all true sportsmen, he deplored the profligate killing of game and for a number of years made an annual survey of the deer population in the San Bernardino National Forest of the United States Forest Service. Carlson's paper on "Human Relations in Forestry" before the 1941 meeting of the Pacific Sociological Society came out of years of deep interest in and experience with outdoor life.

But Carlson was more than the man of action. His was action with a purpose—the purpose of ameliorating social evils. The larger part of his professional life was devoted to improving the lot of the common man, the "little people" as he was inclined to put it. With what amounted to religious zeal he threw himself into social work activities, conceiving these as the best practical expression of sociology. Besides his work with the State Relief Commission, he was president for a number of terms of the San Bernardino County Council of Social Agencies, serving also as the chairman of its relief commission. He participated in and helped to plan several California conferences on social work and took part in the committee which worked out a merit system examination for social workers. For a term he was vice-president of the California Conference of Social Work.

His reach, however, extended beyond social work *per se*. As far back as his graduate days at the University of Michigan he evidenced the interests which were later to make him such an ardent champion of human rights. During the twenties when the annual influx of Negroes into Detroit could be measured by the tens of thousands, Carlson became a member of the Detroit Inter-racial Commission. His studies for this Commission became the basis of his Ph.D. dissertation, "The Negro in Industry in Detroit." When he went to Rollins College, Florida, in 1927 as professor of economics and sociology, he was made a member of the Georgia-Florida Inter-racial Commission. After three years at Rollins and one year at Penn State he succumbed to the lure of the Pacific Coast

and came to the University of Redlands. He brought with him not only his experience in dealing with social problems but his Ph.D. from the University of Michigan (1930) and his wife, the former Maude Cook, a graduate of the Michigan School of Library Science, whom he had married in 1928.

A list of some of his connections in California attests to his vital concern with social improvement: the House of Neighborly Service in Redlands, the San Bernardino County Goodwill Industries, the American Civil Liberties Union, the State Crime Commission, the American Council for Civic Unity, the Western Division of Consumers Union, the Advisory Council on Human Relations.

It is interesting to see the sources of the man's motivation. He was born at Ormsby, McKean County, Pennsylvania, on November 20, 1896. That section's main industry was oil drilling and oil refining and, with his father also engaged in oil development, it was not surprising that Glen early decided to go into the oil business. After high school he attended the Hoff Business College in Warren, Pennsylvania, from which he received his business diploma. In 1915 he joined the Smith Oil Refining Company, Clarendon, Pennsylvania, as bookkeeper. Transferred to the plant, he learned the process of refining oil so completely that he became chief tester. For several months he was stationed with New York refineries; then, when the United States entered World War I, he was enlisted as oil technician in the army's service of supply. At Elington Field, Texas, he inspected and prescribed oils for new types of airplane motors until shifted to Fort Mason, San Francisco, where he had charge of oil supplies controlled through that port. After the war he put in another period at the Clarendon refinery before enrolling at Greenville College, Illinois. After two years there he went to the University of Michigan, where he obtained his bachelor's degree in 1923. Then followed a year of teaching in Mt. Clemens High School, Michigan, a year on the faculty of Seattle Pacific College while doing graduate work at the University of Washington, a return to the University of Michigan in 1925 as graduate instructor in sociology to work under the direction of Charles Horton Cooley. His master's degree was in economics and business administration and his Ph.D. in sociology. Most of Carlson's experience and training before entering the field of sociology, it is plain, was in business. His contacts with industrial workers in the rugged oil fields of Pennsylvania and his earlier studies in economics greatly influenced his professional life. They account in part for his strong sympathy with the worker, with labor unions, and the "little fellow."

Carlson, more than any other sociologist I have known, represented that wing of social scientists who believe that we have enough facts to solve our social problems, that what we need is to act on those facts. Always in the field of sociology there have been the two schools of thought, one asserting that we have not yet reduced our data to precise and significant enough items on which to base effective action, the other claiming we have enough data to map a sound program. Carlson was as fine an exponent as anyone I know of the latter view. He was impatient with many kinds of research because he regarded them as research for research's sake and as excuse for professorial inaction in community affairs. This is not to say that he advocated jumping into a situation without the pertinent facts. He could in a twinkling muster economic, political, and social data applicable to the situation. He was, however, more representative of the social investigator or social surveyor than the researcher. His addresses and articles always pointed to a situation that had to be or was being mended—"The Dilemma of Democracy," "Discrimination in Higher Education," "Community Organization Turns a Corner."

Sometimes action on his part required a good deal of courage, especially when it was action in the face of pressures and antagonisms from those whom his activity offended. Often he recognized his physical limitation and knew his strength was being drained. But he felt impelled by what he considered the urgency of the present-day world situation. To the very last he gave himself unsparingly for purposes he considered important.

LABOR LEADERS AND INDUSTRIAL VALUES

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A currently vexatious social problem involves the conflict between labor and management. It represents the challenge of an emergent power-institution (labor) to a dominant power-institution (management).¹ The disease is one of industrial imbalance; the symptom is the strike. The social diagnosis calls for understanding of causes. Accordingly, the present study deals with attitudes and values, the generators of human activity.²

The unit of analysis was a group of labor leaders possessing the requisite institutional power to transmute their industrial values into social action. Thirteen AFL leaders were the subjects of intensive study through questionnaire and interview methods. This was supplemented by examination of data of a biographical nature pertaining to thirty-two additional officials. Although the subjects were from both the AFL and the CIO, those of the former group predominated.³

As the final arbiters in deciding whether a strike should be called, eight AFL trades council secretaries in the group were interviewed. They determined the strike policies of about eighty affiliated locals; because of their extensive influence the attitudes and values of these eight were accorded the greatest weight in the study.

The following was the method adopted. The most recent strike in which the subject had participated was selected as the basic social situation. Within it dwelt the group of related attitudes and values selected for analysis.⁴ Second, on the basis of common strike experiences revealed

¹ Byron Abernethy, *Liberty Concepts in Labor Relations* (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1943), p. ix.

² The present usage of the concepts "attitude" and "value" is that accorded them by W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1927), I, 23.

³ The biographical information was culled from the following sources: Rose Pesotta, *Bread upon the Waters* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1944); E. Stein and J. Davis, editors, *Labor Problems in America* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1941); Benjamin Stolberg, *Tailor's Progress* (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1944); Mary Heaton Vorse, *Labor's New Millions* (New York: Modern Age Books, Inc., 1938); James Wechsler, *Labor Baron: A Portrait of John L. Lewis* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1944); P. A. Sorokin, "Leaders of Labor and Radical Movements in the United States and Foreign Countries," *American Journal of Sociology*, 33:382-411, November 1927.

⁴ Cf. Rensis Likert, "A Technique for the Measurement of Attitudes," *Archives of Psychology*, 22:8, June 1932.

by the interviewees and derived from the biographical sources, a number of specific subsituations which go to make up the strike were established. Each instance required the leader to choose between alternative values as the basis for conducting the strike.

The leaders revealed certain common reaction patterns toward the following strike-participant groups and institutions: union members, other unions (both AFL and CIO), the employer, the state, the police, the courts, the school, the church, and the two chief organs of public opinion—the press and radio. Finally, from these common elements of response, it was possible to reconstruct the series of interrelated values in a continuum. This was designed to establish the importance of each value in relation to the others.

The general framework of the leaders' attitude-value edifice was determined from their stand on the dilemma indigenous to all contemplated strikes: Should union officers hold themselves responsible for maintaining an uninterrupted flow of goods and services to the remainder of society by keeping the workers on the job, or should they try to improve the lot of the latter by urging them collectively to withhold their labor until the yoke of exploitation is removed?

The interviewees related economic justice and social welfare in a manner indicated by the following. (1) The public, though seemingly willing to sacrifice the workers' welfare on the altar of consumers' interests, would satisfy these interests much better by permitting the labor force to improve its living standards. (2) Everyone would then have sufficient purchasing power to stimulate a high level of production. (3) The goals of economic life and the ends of social justice would thereby be promoted. Holding that unionism's function is to assist in the attainment of these objectives, the leaders averred that it can do this best by exerting economic pressure for the equitable distribution of the abundant fruits of industry.

It is argued by these labor leaders that the capitalistic system must be retained, because its incentive to maximum effort and its efficiency ensure the greatest possible production. It is likewise true, they claim, that the employer's wish for maximum production is founded upon his desire for peak profits, not upon an urge to perform a social service. Consequently, the union is necessary in order to make the system live up to its potentialities for human welfare. Labor's objective is to improve the system of distribution, not to supplant the existing methods and relations of production. Unionism's aims, therefore, must be so formulated as not to

endanger the capitalistic system by excessive or unreasonable demands on it. The latter value is of paramount importance.

Transcending the values associated with production and distribution is that of preserving the union organization, come what may. Solicitude for his institution's welfare is the acme of the labor leader's value pyramid. In common with the hierarchy of officialdom in all social institutions, union leaders merge their individual personality with the corporate life of the organization. Because of this personality transfusion, the labor leader almost unconsciously is prone to identify the welfare of the institution with his own well-being, and to regard an attack on the former as a threat to the latter. Hence the tenacity with which some labor struggles are pursued, even when hope of victory has dimmed or vanished.

It is this emphasis on the maintenance of the institution's existence that explains some of the important values and attitudes exhibited by union officials. For example, industry-wide bargaining is regarded as a cornerstone of industrial relations. For, should the nonunion employer, with lower wage costs, be permitted to compete with unionized shops, the latter would either be reduced to bankruptcy or be driven to shed the union organization and standards. In either event, the union would be doomed.

Another illustration of the imperative nature of institutionalism is afforded by the emphasis upon the closed shop. Were the employer permitted the choice of hiring union or nonunion help the chances are that unionism might soon pass into the limbo of ancient history. Furthermore, there is the added sentiment of resentment against nonunion employees who obtain the benefits accruing from unionism without shouldering any of the burdens and responsibilities entailed. This attitude is compounded by fear that the union members, under such circumstances, might come to regard the union as superfluous.

Solicitude for the organization conditions the leader's thinking toward the police, courts, and other agents of the state. These should function only to maintain the conditions under which union and employer may press their conflict on equal terms, and to confine the dispute within these bounds. However, the leaders arrogated the right to determine the proper boundaries of the dispute and to define the sphere of legitimacy of state actions. Conceding that obedience to the police and judicial authority is necessary and proper, they reserved the right to withhold submission when, in their judgment, it would threaten the union's very existence. Such a stand was justified on the grounds that state activities

threatening the union are illegal and in excess of governmental authority. These were the criticisms directed toward the court order and injunction, and toward the actions of the police in escorting nonstrikers through union picket lines.

The leaders' concern with the institutional aspects of unionism is most clearly seen in their relations with their own members and with rival unions. Most of the officials indicated a sincere desire to maintain democratic procedures within their organizations in so far as possible. But should the union deem that it might suffer by the actions of any of its members, an authoritarian control, rather than a directive one, would likely be assumed by the leadership.

The AFL interviewees asserted that they maintained friendly relations with many members and officials of the CIO. Toward the organization itself, however, they manifested an attitude of bitter and unrelenting hostility. The reason may be found in the competition offered by the latter to the AFL. So long as the CIO organizing efforts were confined to the unskilled and semiskilled workers (in whom the AFL has an inanimate interest) a semblance of harmony may have existed. But when the CIO began to display concern for the skilled workers the AFL saw in this a threat to its very foundations. The resultant hostility extends so far that it is a major reason for the AFL hesitation in exposing racketeering in its ranks. Although strongly condemning the practice, it fears to take action which might drive the censured union into the arms of the CIO.

The jurisdictional strike presents another illustration of the leaders' central emphasis upon the organization rather than upon the worker. Though all are members of the same federation, each of the unions involved insists upon the right to preserve its own identity. It refuses to be bound by decisions or awards in such disputes, even when handed down by the supreme AFL hierarchy. The latter, in turn, hesitates to impose decisions whose enforcement would be highly doubtful.⁵ Furthermore, in many cases the leaders suspect that the jurisdictional strike is a smoke screen by which the employer hopes to rid himself of a too-militant union. This is accomplished by setting up a rival union, or by favoring the more amenable where two or more already exist, promoting conflict between them, and labeling it a jurisdictional quarrel. Thus can public opinion be mobilized against the union. It is because of this divide-and-conquer

⁵ Says John Frey, president of the AFL Metal Trades Department: "No international union can afford to surrender its control over the jurisdiction of its organization." *Proceedings of the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the Metal Trades Department, AFL*, Chicago, Illinois, September 1946, p. 37.

technique that the leaders deplored the rivalry among labor organizations known as dual unionism. A blessing to the employer, it is a curse to both unions.⁶

The jurisdictional strike, racketeering, and picketing are typical issues in labor disputes upon which the leaders declared the public to be misinformed. Society is misled into opposing its own and labor's interests through the organs of public opinion, particularly the press and radio. Controlled by antiunion business groups, these sources of public opinion echo the latter's propaganda. The welfare of these business groups and that of society are declared by press and radio to be identical; consequently, union opposition to such economic forces constitutes a threat to social welfare. Another of the subjects' beliefs is that antiunion employers have frequently succeeded in diverting society's agents of control, notably the police, from their proper function of preserving law and order to the illegal purpose of destroying the union.

Less clear-cut is the attitude toward the church, possibly because it has only an indirect effect upon labor and labor disputes. The church is generally regarded as perceiving the closeness between unionism's objectives and fundamental religious principles. The clergy, however, is divided into two groups: those that actively promote labor's cause as a means of translating Christian values into social reality and those that treat labor with hostility and indifference. The latter group is considered to be that small minority which preoccupies itself with the interests and activities of the upper economic class. Consequently, it reflects the attitudes of the latter toward labor, though on a modified tone.

The schools are also generally regarded as antiunion in attitude, due in part to a lack of knowledge of organized labor, its goals, and its methods. More serious is the criticism that the schools make no effort to ascertain the true facts about unionism, but rest content to present a one-sided (management's) view of labor relations. Free trade schools are more bitterly regarded as fertile sources of strikebreakers, since they stand ever ready to supply nonunion help to employers beset by labor difficulties. Education, on the whole, is considered more as a medium for informing the public about labor unions than as a means of assisting the latter to make better institutional adjustments to the current patterns and framework of society.

⁶ Of course, since each union is anxious to preserve its own existence, it is the other union which should give way and withdraw from the field. And so the jurisdictional strike remains unsettled.

Broadly speaking, it may be said that the respect of the leaders for the institutions considered in this study was in direct proportion to the adjudged freedom of those bodies from control by special interests. Conversely, the greater this domination was judged to be, the greater was the hostility expressed toward the particular institution.

The expressions of the leaders' attitudes toward the several objects discussed above prompts the following tentative scale of values in the approximate order of their importance to the officials.⁷

1. *Preservation of the union.* Recognition of the institution both by employers and by society is held indispensable. The cardinal principles reiterated by the leaders is that the employer must accept the practice of collective bargaining with the union, and that this process must be carried on in good faith. The public, on its part, is expected to accept unionism as a legitimate and indispensable social institution.

The existence of the union is to be further secured by making it impregnable to attack. Threats to union security are of three kinds: the competition offered by rival unions, the conflict waged by the employer against the union during a strike, the coercion wielded by the agencies of social control. The third is of less immediate concern to the leader, inasmuch as he is more concerned with his own particular organization than with the institution of unionism. Nevertheless, the reaction of organized labor to the Taft-Hartley Law shows that it is not unaware of the danger of this type of attack.

2. *Maintenance of the existing economic system.* The unequaled productive capacity of capitalism in the United States explains the leaders' favorable attitude toward its retention. Furthermore, there is no wish to change the employer-employee relationships. The union's purpose is to extend as equitably as possible the blessings of the productive system to all those engaged in it. This aim is embodied in the next set of values.

3. *The attainment of economic objectives.* Higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions are the traditional goals known collectively as "business unionism," on which the AFL continues to focus attention. Of late it has been additionally preoccupied with the wish for security in the form of guaranteed employment for union workers.

⁷ Emphasis is placed on the order in which values are ranked because it facilitates prediction of future behavior. For example, all labor leaders are likely to attach great importance to obeying the courts and the police. It is only when this value conflicts with a higher one, namely, preservation of the union, that submission to the authorities is likely to be de-emphasized. Consequently, it is necessary to know two things: (1) which values are in conflict and (2) which takes precedence over the other. Only when the sequence is uncovered, assuming the other facts of the situation are known, can accurate prediction be made. It seems desirable, however, to establish this value hierarchy with more precision than has been done in the present instance.

4. Commonplace as the above objectives appear, labor feels that they can be attained only through *the maintenance of political democracy*. It permits that degree of flexibility in human relations necessary for collective bargaining, and collective bargaining is the backbone of the union structure. Also highly valued are democratic relationships within the union; held together by this bonding agent, it will resist disintegration far more readily than one dictatorially patterned.

5. Finally, *industrial peace* is considered an important social value. Mediation and conciliation are quite acceptable as means of settling what appear to be deadlocked labor disputes. Arbitration is unacceptable; it imposes the will of an outsider upon the parties to the dispute. Labor doubts the ability of a third party to make any satisfactory decision for the disputants and suspects the impartiality which would be shown. Labor legislation is, in effect, regarded as such a third party and is therefore highly suspect in most instances. Even when legislation is deemed to be fair to labor, the leaders would prefer that it be rendered unnecessary by more effective operation of the processes of collective bargaining. One happy result of a satisfactory bargaining relationship is that it eliminates the intervention of police, courts, and similar state agencies, whose presence sometimes makes it necessary for the labor leader to choose between obedience to authority or pursuit of the union's objectives. Direct union-management negotiations smooth the accommodation process in industry and reduce the amount of friction which attends the incorporation of the institution of unionism into the current American culture pattern.

THE NEW ETHIOPIA AND SOCIOEDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

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After the Restoration, which followed the Italian occupation, Ethiopia faced the gigantic task of making the transition from a nation long isolated from modern civilization to a state that would be a functional unit in the community of nations. No modern nation can fully meet its social needs without formal education. That the leaders of the New Ethiopia appreciate this is evident in this statement from the *Ethiopian Review* (July-August 1945):

The Ethiopian Government recognizes that in this new education the whole people should attain general literacy, that is, every Ethiopian should be able to read, write and compute for his own satisfaction and as a basis for general social and cultural uplift. A more enlightened Ethiopian public means better home life, better public morals, and in general greater cooperation with the Government in its multifarious public duties.¹

Happily, despite the occupation, Ethiopia would not need to build on the ashes of an old system but could start *de novo*. A conqueror cannot burn buildings that do not exist, even though he can limit education to suit his fancy.

In order to appreciate better our problem, let us first take a sweeping glance at the country itself. Ethiopia is a land about three times as large as Great Britain with a population of about ten million. Most of the country is made up of high mountains and immense highland plateaus. The fringes of the country are torrid desert wastes. In the northwest, above Lake Tana, the source of the Blue Nile, are some of the most highly eroded mountains in the world, with tremendous gashes and fantastic grey gorges.

The people of Ethiopia are not true Africans in the sense of being Negroid. Most anthropologists agree with this view. The Amharas, or true Ethiopians, comprise less than a quarter of the population and occupy the provinces of Tigre, Amhara, and Gojam, and a part of Shoo province. They are of Hamitic origin, with some strain of Semitic and a slight Negro strain. It is the Amharas who are the dominant, ruling group. They speak Amharic—a Semitic tongue—the official language

* Director of Welfare, UNRRA Mission to Ethiopia, 1945-46.
¹ P. 19.

of the court and government. They are, moreover, Coptic Christians who were converted by St. Athanasius of Alexandria in the fourth century. More than half of the population are Gallas, a Hamitic pastoral race. Some Gallas are Coptic Christians, but most of them are pagans and Moslems.

The Somali and Danakil tribes occupy the desert wastes of Ethiopia. These tribesmen are still primitive, fierce, and warlike. There is predominantly a camel culture. A small group of Falashas, or Jews, are located above Lake Tana and a small colony of them are in Addis Ababa, the capital. Just how and when they came into old Abyssinia is still uncertain. They have intermarried with the Amharas, speak Amharic, and retain only a faint trace of their ancient religious heritage. Lastly, of the foreign colony, it is the Armenians and the Greeks who predominate. Most of these are in the cities, the largest number having settled in and about the capital. They are nearly all businessmen, small shopkeepers, or traders. It is this group who constitute the only middle class in the country.

The people of Ethiopia are mainly farmers. Because of their primitive methods of tilling the soil and the lack of real incentive to work and produce, only a fraction of the land has been cultivated. They are mostly tenant farmers, of apparently good native intelligence, but illiterate. Outside of the cities, they live in villages of six or more native *tukuls* (huts). In the valleys may be found growing some sugar cane, a little cotton, and even rubber. Coffee, too, is abundant, but most of it still grows in a wild state in Kaffa province. Here also are found some groves of timber. Except where foreigners operate, the various fruits which the population eats are still wild. The soil of the two great central plains, cut by the Harwash River, is richly fertile with abundant rainfall. Here we find various grains such as wheat and millet, some fruits, tobacco, and potatoes, of which several crops a year are harvested. The lower mountain slopes afford excellent pasture land for stock. Ethiopia is rich in cattle, with some twelve million head; hence hides constitute an important export item.

Modern technology and conveniences are practically nonexistent except in a half-dozen cities. Among these is the capital, Addis Ababa, which is the largest with some 150,000 people. Only in these towns does one find electricity, piped water, and telephones. These are enjoyed mainly by the foreigners and upper-class Ethiopians. There are three notable roads,

left by the Italians, and one railroad from the capital to Djibouti. Most transportation is still accomplished by horses, donkeys, or natives carrying loads on their heads. Adequate transportation, communication, sanitation, hygiene, and educational facilities are the *sine qua non* of a modern state. Here we are concerned only with education.

Within their mountain fastnesses, these people maintained as much of their culture as the social needs demanded. The Church then bore the great responsibility of perpetuating education. The controlling factors in maintaining their independence drove them further into cultural isolationism—into the preservation of their arts and crafts, their alphabet, their almost distinct social customs, their religion and other beliefs and their freedom. Their locally determined need and the prevailing circumstances limited the scope of their drive toward general formal education.²

Among the various ministries of government, none is more intelligently staffed, efficient, and forward looking than the Ministry of Education. The writer had occasion to deal with this Ministry many times during his work with UNRRA and came to regard its Director General, Ato Emmanuel Abraham, as one of the finest Ethiopian officials he ever had occasion to meet. Ato (Mr.) Emmanuel was well educated in foreign schools and spoke excellent English. He is a man of extreme dignity, politeness, and reserve. He possesses a good sense of humor and is dedicated to the full service of his country, which he has served abroad in foreign countries including the United States. He knows the problems and needs of Ethiopia, yet has no illusions about the magnitude and complexity of the task of establishing formal education in a country so land locked and so long geographically isolated as his. Though one of the ablest and most sincere public servants in the entire government, he has not been offered the portfolio of Minister of Education. This, despite the fact that Ato Emmanuel enjoys the fullest respect and confidence of His Majesty, The Emperor. The real reason for this is that Haile Selassie has no keener interest in any functional unit of his government than in the Ministry of Education. Even before assuming the Crown, as Heir Apparent, he was already encouraging a school program for the country. Out of his own purse, he made it possible for some of his promising young subjects to finish their education abroad, a policy he has continued up to the present. His Majesty, then, knowing full well that the New Ethiopia cannot progress without formal education, chooses to keep to himself the portfolio of Minister of Education in order to assure himself

² *Ethiopian Review*, July-August 1945, p. 18.

the more that the educational program will be carried out. That this unit of the government enjoys His Majesty's fullest confidence and cooperation is evident when we remember that education is the second highest item in the national budget.

For a long time before the Restoration, education, such as it was, was provided by three sources: church, missions, and state. None of these ever pretended to reach the masses. The church was interested only in keeping alive a priestly caste. A power in most lands, this caste includes a tremendous number of men in Ethiopia. Rich in land ownership, extremely jealous of its power, suspicious of reform and foreign influence, while using state solicitude over education, the church has been and will remain for some time a great obstacle to progress in the country. The level of intelligence and literacy of this priestly group has steadily declined. According to competent foreign observers, Haile Selassie fully realizes the need for a more competent, educated, and trained body of young men to enter the priesthood of the Coptic church. There are those who already detect a new trend: the possibility that the Ethiopian church will seek to emancipate itself from its ties with the dominant Coptic church of Alexandria (Egypt) and thus make itself autonomous; second, the new Ecclesiastical School at Addis Ababa is very likely to exert a liberal influence. Should the latter take place, the government would, of course, be strengthened in its educational policy.

The mission schools, always few in number, reached but a small group of Ethiopian youth. This group was quickly inducted into government civil service. The Menelik and Tafari Makonnen schools in Addis Ababa trained a small but steady trickle of students, on the elementary level, the more intelligent of whom (40 in 1935) went abroad for further education.

Following the Restoration, it became clear to Ethiopian leaders that if the ideal of education of the whole people was ever to be achieved, it could be only through government planning and support of the school system. At the present time the emphasis in education is on three levels: straight literary secondary education; upper elementary, in the provinces as well as in Addis Ababa—this so as to feed the secondary schools; and higher education, which takes the abler students into history, law, and economics.

So great is the need for male public servants in government branches that anyone showing the least ability and achievement in the secondary

schools is immediately pulled into service. All too often the student has not even had a chance to finish his elementary education before he finds himself in government work. All the ministries vie with one another to grab such young men. But this policy is a bad one and runs counter to the advice which the foreign adviser in education has given.³

Much building of schools is going on, mostly in the cities such as Addis Ababa, Jimma, Dire-Dawa, and Harrar. Since this program involves more than half the educational budget, much criticism has been directed at it. There are those among the foreign staff and outside observers who do not see the point of such a rapid expansion of physical plants when there is yet no adequate teaching personnel, either Ethiopian or foreign, to man it. That the buildings themselves will be useful, no one denies.

All the while the reader may be asking whether or not this program envisions mass education. This is a critical point. It must be frankly admitted that mass education is, for the most part, still an ideal and a goal. Mass education in essence means a democratization of the people through education of their children. It means not only enlightenment but, in time, also a betterment in the standards of living throughout the land. A number of factors, therefore, still militate against putting mass education into effect. In any country, whether it be Egypt, the Sudan, or Ethiopia, mass education in time tends to disrupt and threaten the extant class system and the land monopoly practices that go with it. Hence, it represents something of a menace to class privileges and interests. In Ethiopia, under Haile Selassie, sound land reform legislation does exist, but has not been put into effect on any broad scale. Security in land tenure for the masses of Ethiopia is implicit in the law. But local judges are still much too partial to the landlords. Large-scale monopoly of the land has already set in and could become a menace to general social reform.

Moreover, mass education is possible only if adequate teaching personnel is available. At present this constitutes a serious handicap. There never were more than several hundred college or university-trained young men available, and some of these were slain during the occupation, thus further reducing the number. The problem is also complicated by the fact

³ This adviser was an American who, though sincere and eager to do a good job, was too obviously anti-British, and so was responsible for generating needless conflict with an able Englishman on the staff who was inspector of schools, and with almost the entire British Council in Addis Ababa. The writer wishes to make it clear that the Ethiopian schools in general were being planned after an English and American pattern. This has led, of course, to some complications, especially since textbooks for the schools were coming from England and America.

that the secondary schools are scarcely ready to turn out the first real crop of graduates; that the foreign staff in the schools is not only limited in numbers but is difficult and costly to obtain; and that there is, as yet, no higher education. All this means that, for some time, inadequately educated and trained young men will have to be impressed into teaching and that the load of responsibility of the extant foreign staff, already heavy, will also continue; that the hiring of more foreign teachers will be a further strain on the educational budget. This critical situation is historically inevitable and can be worked out only with time, patience, and further expense.

How eager Ethiopian boys are for schooling is amply demonstrable. Some may be found in Addis Ababa, sitting on their haunches in the sun, their lips moving visibly as they pore over a printed alphabet. Many stand in awe before the only book and magazine shop in their capital. Inside, one will find a few hunting for an elementary reader or arithmetic in English. The writer has spoken to numerous teachers—Swedish, English, and American—and all testify strongly to this eagerness for learning among the Ethiopian boys, the surprising rapidity with which they learn, and the high respect and awe in which teachers are held. The status of the teacher, as that of the priest, is high among most "primitive" peoples; Ethiopia is no exception.

If one really wants a thrill, he should take a walk over to the Ministry of Education compound. Here will be found parents bringing their children, mostly boys, for admittance to the schools. Again and again boys are seen milling about the compound, clamoring to be taken into the schools. They are barefooted, some wear only a goat, sheep, or gazelle skin over their backs; some have but flimsy, tattered shammars wrapped about them; others are there in nondescript shorts with brown skin showing through. Many have walked for days from the provinces, sleeping in the open fields in the chilly nights. They arrive dusty, and even dirty, from the road, tired, hungry, lean but wiry, and eager looking. A few have their parents with them. It frequently happens that gently but firmly the police have to disperse them. The Ministry of Education must ask the police to do this, for it simply is not yet ready to welcome them into the classrooms in such large numbers. It will still be some years before the average Ethiopian child can be incorporated into the mass educational program. It is mostly the children of the upper classes who are now getting the opportunity for education. This is especially true in Addis Ababa, but less so in Jimma in the Galla Country, southwest of the capital.

In addition to these young children who must still be turned away, there is a group of young men who are being by-passed entirely so far as their education is concerned. This is a group roughly between the ages of 16 and 27 years who because of the invasion could not continue with either their primary or secondary education. Among these are some who because of their age had to serve in defense of their country. Many of the latter are well-seasoned young men, capable, mature, and anxious to serve their Emperor and the New Ethiopia. The mere fact that they were able to read and write their own language, as well as English usually, made them eligible for government service in the various ministries as soon as the war ended. Some of them have surprising facility at languages—French, Italian, and English, in addition to Amharic.

The writer came to know a number of these, including a brilliant captain of the Ethiopian police force who spoke excellent English, French, and Italian. He had read widely in English and American literature. Repeatedly, these young men wanted to know how they could go to America to study and whether or not the writer could help them. They were not content with what education they had received and their roles as clerks in the ministries; they wanted more education, so as to be able to function on a higher level. But the tragedy was that they could not be spared by the government services.⁴ They were not allowed to quit their jobs in order to go back to get secondary or higher schooling. And since there was no adult training program open to them, they found all avenues closed. They were, I found, a disillusioned lot who felt that they were being deprived of the chance to further their education. Their plight is indeed a sad one.

His Majesty, The Emperor, and the Ministry of Education are fully cognizant of the forces and factors that militate against the achievement of mass education in anything under several decades. The entire history of education tells us, however, that the Ethiopians will be neither the first nor the last people to overcome these obstacles. Time and patience will work for them, and of both they have ample.

Now, let us look in upon a typical classroom of any elementary or other school. Here we really sense the crucial nature of the educational situation as it exists for pupil and instructor alike. I have entered some classrooms where the only text available was in the instructor's hands. Sometimes, there were two textbooks for the whole classroom! In the best schools

⁴ The captain of police, especially, could not be spared and was offered a majority to remain in the service. Just after the writer left the country, he wrote that the American Legation helped him and he was on his way to the United States to attend an Eastern college.

there was rarely more than a text for every two pupils. Blackboards were lacking, so also were slates and crayons. Very little or no paper—not even scratch pads—and few pencils, or pens and ink with which to practice writing, were to be had. The result is that teaching has been mainly on an oral level with not much pupil participation. Most of this critical shortage is due to the fact that in this immediate postwar period supplies from abroad are still difficult to get. Orders for books and other supplies from England and America were just beginning to trickle in, late in 1946. The great distances and lack of shipping space further complicate matters.

Add to the above classroom situation the fact that the pupils had to learn in a foreign language (English),⁵ from foreign textbooks, with illustrative material alien to their own culture, and you get a dramatic picture of the crucial nature of the educational process for both pupils and instructors. Discouragements and frustrations were naturally present. Remember, too, that most of the Ethiopian teachers were untrained for their task. This is true for the eight elementary schools the government has in Addis Ababa. At Jimma, Harrar, and Dire-Dawa a similar situation obtains.

The students in the elementary forms, as one might expect, are indeed heterogeneous. Most of the various age levels could obtain no schooling during the Italian occupation. In the Menelik School, there is an age range from six to sixteen years in the lowest class, two thirds of the pupils being over twelve years of age. This school is directed by a competent Swedish teacher. In the best school in the country, the Tafari Makonnen, the average is eight age groups to a class.

In the elementary schools no handicraft work is being done. There is but one physical training instructor in any school—an Egyptian trained in Cairo. The turnover of foreign personnel is very rapid and hence, unfortunately, disrupting. This is especially true of headmasters. In 1944, examinations were given all over the country to elementary pupils, with the result that but ten of the entire group qualified for entrance to a secondary school.

UNRRA was able to offer a number of scholarships for college study in the United States. In Ethiopia we were not able to find one student prepared to take advantage of this splendid opportunity. A number had the qualifications, but they were so urgently needed in governmental work,

⁵ It is important to note that pupils were compelled to learn not only their own language, Amharic, but English as well, since both are languages of the government services.

including the Ministry of Education, that they could not be spared. It is plain that any attempt to measure standards in Ethiopia by those of England or America would be both impossible and unfair.

Some further facts and figures are illuminating. Although there are nearly a million children of school age in the provinces, there are only 146 government-recognized schools, many being small with but one teacher, whose salary is about \$225 a year. Thus, in Addis Ababa there are only 4,000 school places for some 15,000 children; and of these 4,000 only about 500 places are available for girls. Plans call for the remodeling of many of these schools or the building of new ones. In the country, as a whole, over a hundred new schools are under way to accommodate some 18,000 pupils. The Ministry of Education has plans to step up the annual number in the schools so as to reach nearly a million pupils within a decade. These are ambitious plans, obviously, and may not be realized in this span, but the goal is clearly set. Although coeducation is the aim, it is still difficult to attract girls into the schools, especially in the Moslem areas. Interestingly enough, young men are already complaining that they cannot find literate wives!

Some of the foreign teaching staff are critical of the ambitious school building going on. They feel more emphasis should be placed upon a teacher-training program. It is here that the need is urgent and serious. How true this is may be gauged from the situation in the secondary schools.

There are but two secondary schools in Addis Ababa: the General Wingate School, accommodating 100 pupils, has just opened. It is staffed by the British Council. The Haile Selassie School, a few miles outside Addis Ababa, in beautiful country, is actually the only secondary school that has been functioning since the Restoration. The buildings were Italian constructed and are attractive. The Headmaster and staff are Swedes. They are well trained and are doing a fine job. However, they too must teach in English, since they know no Amharic, and so have much difficulty. What we call a school certificate standard has not been reached. Interestingly enough, the only science laboratory in the entire system is at the Haile Selassie School. The student body, consisting of about 150 pupils, is not representative of the youth of Ethiopia, since it is made up principally of students from the privileged classes.

Some attempts were made to train quickly a secondary group in other schools, as for instance, at the Menen School for girls, the only one of its kind in the country. How successful this could be may be judged by the fact that the girls were then working only in third-grade arithmetic.

Because facilities for higher education are still lacking, it will be necessary for some time to come to send Ethiopian graduates of secondary schools abroad for further training. A former Italian-made building is being redesigned for a Polytechnic Institute. There will be laboratories and a School of Music. It is hoped that the curriculum will include history, economics, philosophy, and law.

The need for a school to train technicians for Ethiopia has been recognized, but there has been neglect in taking care of this. One technical school, opened in 1942, is still in a state of organized confusion as to curriculum, proper equipment, and personnel. When a Swedish Technical Mission arrived in 1946, with a trained staff and some machinery, tools, general equipment, and supplies to keep the school in operation, the situation in this technical school began to improve. A Swedish loan financed the whole undertaking. At best, this Mission worked under many adversities, and at the time the writer left Ethiopia, late in 1946, he heard that the morale was suffering a bit.

Two other types of schools need but passing mention. One is a small commercial school where good work is being done with some fifty boys, who are being trained for office jobs in government, banks, or businesses. Since no typewriter with Amharic characters has yet been developed, practice was on American or English machines. Shorthand was not being taught. The other is an art school. Since handicrafts were never developed on a high scale in Ethiopian culture, an elementary beginning has been made at this school. For the most part, however, wood and stone carving have been stressed. There is no reason why greater development in art work should not slowly take place.

So far we have said nothing about medical or agricultural training for Ethiopian youth. Obviously, the country cannot hope to become a modern state unless it develops medical, sanitation, and hygiene facilities and improves its agriculture. A brief comment on both of these will round out our whole concern with education.

A medical school of her own is a dream to be realized by Ethiopia only in the distant future, and until then her young men wishing to become doctors will need to go abroad. There is but one native Ethiopian doctor in this large land of ten million people. One young Ethiopian is in his last year of training in Switzerland. It is of interest to note that there are only some forty-five foreign doctors in the whole country, most of these being located in the four main cities of Ethiopia. The Ministry of Health in Ethiopia is not known among foreign observers either for the intelligence and training or for the social vision of its staff members. The only

exception is Dr. G. G. Campbell, an American with many years of foreign service to his credit here and elsewhere. He was about to leave Ethiopia according to the last report the writer had. His task was none too pleasant when one remembers the discouraging and frustrating conditions under which he worked at the Ministry of Health.

As regards the agricultural training, the situation here is somewhat more promising than that in medicine. The Ministry of Commerce and Agriculture is made up of able, hard-working people, aided by a German agronomist who has been long in the country. The Italians developed a number of fine agricultural experiment stations in various parts of the country and left behind some machinery. A few of these stations are still in operation, but the machinery, unfortunately, is in a state of disrepair with many replacements of parts needed. West of Addis Ababa at Holletta, an Agricultural Institute was being developed. Plans call for the accommodation and training of sixty resident boys. They were to receive diplomas after their schooling here, and the better ones would be sent abroad for more specialized training at government expense. Some critics of this program were dubious of its success because they felt it was not too well conceived, its curriculum was too diverse, with little time in the day allowed for nonagricultural training and leisure-time activity of the boys. Another objection was that the farm and educational administration were too divorced from each other and that the whole plan was impractical. It is too early to comment on the success of this Institute.

Education in Ethiopia today is proceeding apace and getting a generous amount of government support. Within a decade a good number of Ethiopian young men should be getting higher training abroad. Within this span, more and more children of the masses, including girls, should sit in the schools. The need of foreign personnel, vast quantities of school supplies, libraries and books, and more Ethiopians trained in the art of translating foreign works to suit the cultural and educational needs of the country will exist for some decades. But, all in all, the program in conception is sound and in execution, laudable. Of critical shortcomings one could make much, but the magnitude of the task undertaken explains many of its shortcomings and so necessitates a sympathetic and charitable attitude.

As favorable as the outlook for a continued advancement in the education of Ethiopian youth now appears, a number of imponderables remain to be considered. While, as we have already noted, the budget for education is the second largest item of the national budget, as the numbers taken

into the schools increase, so obviously will the general costs of education increase. It is impossible to believe that there can be an increase year after year in the education budget without some expansion of the Ethiopian economy.

At the present time the balance of trade is not very favorable. Ethiopia is still too dependent upon other countries for products which she should rapidly develop from her own soil. Two such heavy imports, for example, are textiles and sugar. Ethiopian soil is perfectly capable of growing cotton which some believe to be of as high a quality as that raised in Egypt. Certain parts of the country are likewise very favorable for the growing of sugar cane. As a matter of fact, since Ethiopia will remain primarily an agricultural country, it will be necessary for her to stimulate economic expansion. To do so will necessitate the building and maintenance of new highways and a railroad. Further, since Ethiopia is a landlocked nation, she will need a port of her own, either at Assab or at Masawa in Eritrea. She can have access to the sea, therefore, only if this Italian colony should be granted to her in toto, or if the southeast corner containing Assab be given her. This will not be settled until the question of what disposition shall be made of the Italian colonies is determined.

There are many foreign observers who believe that with proper political and economic leadership Ethiopia can become in fifty years the "Bread Basket of the Middle East." Only with some such development as that suggested in the foregoing can the laudable plans for furthering education in the New Ethiopia be achieved.

SOCIAL GROUP WORK WITH SHORT-TERM GROUPS*

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During World War II many social agencies were faced with the problem of working with people uprooted from their homes and required to live in new communities, many only temporarily. The high mobility of population and the resulting transiency led social agencies into experimental work with short-term groups. Notable among these wartime experiments was the experience of the United Service Organizations in meeting recreational needs of service men and women, war production workers, and returning veterans. Because of the importance of this U.S.O. experience in social group work with short-term groups, this study was undertaken.

Rapid changes in society today are bringing a marked increase in short-term groupings. There are more transient groups and more areas of transiency. Shifting populations tend to shorten personal contacts between individuals. In addition, periods of instability and uncertainty tend to shorten the interest span. But in spite of brief contacts and a shortened span of interest the basic needs of individuals remain the same. Their desires for recognition, a sense of belonging, and security are probably even intensified when opportunities for continuous group life are lessened. Accordingly, agencies have to search for effective means of working with the groups which develop under these changing conditions.

It was the purpose of this study to see if valuable ways of work with short-term groups had been discovered by the U.S.O. It was also planned to evaluate the effectiveness of these short-term groups according to the objectives and purposes of social group work. By working with service men on the move, with service wives following their husbands, and with war production workers on shifting turns, the U.S.O. pioneered in short-term group work. What methods were successful with short-term groups? What skills did the workers use with these groups in bringing about quickly the relationships involved in the group work process? To what extent did these groups make possible the development of the individuals within the group? How did the worker help the group

*Material for this article was taken from an unpublished Master's thesis by the author, Graduate School of Social Work, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, January 1948.

to sharpen its focus with respect to its own purposes and goals? Is there some parallel between work with short-term groups and "short-contact" in social case work?

This exploratory study was limited to those agencies in the U.S.O. which had experience with short-term groups: the National Catholic Community Service, the Jewish Welfare Board, the Young Men's Christian Association, and the Young Women's Christian Association. The groups selected for the study were young adult groups between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five which had met between ten and twenty times. It seemed logical to assume that little development of either individuals or groups could occur when a group met less than ten times, and it would be difficult for a worker to learn much about the needs and desires of each individual and to identify common interests, purposes, and objectives of the group. A maximum of twenty times was set, on the other hand, because any group which met more than this number of times might be considered to have begun to form more or less permanent associations.

Adequate group records were not available for analysis; therefore, interviews were held with twelve former U.S.O. workers who had had experience with such groups. Persons were selected who had worked directly with the groups and who had knowledge of social group work methods in social work. The twelve persons interviewed for this study represented a wide variety of experience, training, and length of service with the U.S.O. Their experience in group work varied from three to twenty-two years. Ten of the twelve had had some graduate study in social work. Their length of service in the U.S.O. varied from three to fifty-four months. Each had had direct contact with the group which he described. An attempt was made to record experiences which would represent a cross section of the practice of the four agencies. With the use of a comprehensive schedule, group descriptions were secured from which to study the effectiveness of these short-term groups. The descriptions were used to identify certain skills which workers used with the groups. Information from the group records was used to examine a number of specific basic assumptions of social group work.

The schedule used for the interviews included such topics as group origin, characteristics, activities, relationships, individual development, and group development. After fifteen years of sustained effort social group work has agreed upon certain objectives. Among these are to develop the personality of each individual, to socialize him through his association with others, to provide him with opportunities for creative expression, to

prepare him to assume responsibility, to expand his interests, to provide him with opportunities to enlarge his areas of concern, and to develop a sense of group feeling. The workers were asked to tell how well in their judgment these objectives had been fulfilled in their short-term groups.

In studying the role of the worker with these groups attention was centered upon his part in establishing the group and how he defined his role with the group. It was of interest to know how he helped the group develop its own program and how he guided group thinking, established relationships with the group, and facilitated relationships between the members of the group.

In order to discover how group and individual purposes were focused, questions were asked as follows: Did the short-term nature of the group require a sharpening of focus and how? What were the positive and negative results of this sharpening of focus? Did the short-term nature of the group influence the kind of activities? Did the short-term nature of the group influence the kind of organization which evolved? Did the past group experience of the individuals in the group help to sharpen the focus in the short-term group? How did this short-term group work experience differ from long-term group work experience?

Two of the group descriptions follow:

SUNDAY MORNING BREAKFAST CLUB

The U.S.O. director in a small city in the central part of California was working with an airfield and a regular post. Most of the personnel of these two stations were Negroes. The director, sensing a need for a Sunday morning program, put forth the idea of having a coffee group. He invited the group to come together on Sundays, once a month, for educational and recreational activities. The director approached the noncommissioned soldiers at two army posts and together with three or four of them planned the first breakfast. These breakfasts were held once a month for ten months with fifty members in the group. Army life at the post interfered with permanent structure, so it was decided to have a different chairman for each meeting.

Speakers from the community were invited to these breakfasts which junior and senior hostesses planned, cooked, and served. The program for each affair was planned by four or five men from the posts. The director felt that these breakfasts were successful and created a group feeling because the activity was something more than the usual dances held in the U.S.O. People who came to one breakfast usually returned and brought friends with them.

At the beginning the leadership was essentially that of the director. But he gradually drew upon four "spark plugs" and involved them in the planning. All of the soldiers took part in the discussion which followed the speaker and many of them elaborated on questions. Most of the members of this group had had earlier experiences with groups. When the soldiers first came, the breakfast and the girls were more important. But as they listened and talked, they became more articulate about the things which they wished to have discussed.

The director felt that these breakfasts enriched their knowledge of other people, because the speakers were recruited from other groups in the community, such as the Filipino, Chinese, and other national groups. It was noticeable that members of the group gained many friends. Some of the problems discussed in these meetings were continued at the post and at the camp. The interests of the members were expanded and they began to suggest programs. Their breakfast started on an entertainment level but progressed to the point where distinguished speakers were invited in to talk about world problems. The group gained status in the community because of the excellent newspaper publicity which it received.

According to the director, he actually started the group and kept the enthusiasm high. He believed it was his job to stimulate activities other than dancing. Programs for the first breakfast were attractively mimeographed and several contacts were made at both posts before attempting the activity. The group felt that they should interpret to the community the fact that Negroes liked to be treated as Americans. The director also felt that his status in the group changed from one who had the idea to one who became a part of the group. When the director was asked how he gained acceptance in the group, he said he spent a lot of time in the barracks helping soldiers write letters to their parents, referring them to churches, and working out problems for a noncommissioned officers' club; to some extent he was like a pastor because there was no chaplain or priest. At the breakfasts the director was not conscious of guiding group thinking, but did pull a discussion back to the problem at hand when it got off on a tangent. He also helped to introduce all newcomers to others in the group.

With respect to the short-term nature of the group, the director said he played a definite role in helping the group to focus its purpose. He felt that the time schedule of any large U.S.O. club necessitated this focusing, together with the fact that army life sometimes interfered with permanent structure, i.e., in the transference of the soldiers going overseas or on bivouacs. This director also felt that spontaneity was a real factor

necessary in artificial groupings. It was his belief that the short-term nature of this group had a definite influence on the kind of organization, to the extent that a chairman served for one breakfast and then another was appointed. He felt that the past group experience of the members was a factor which made this group more cohesive. He also felt that the transient, short-term group tended to have a greater membership turnover, but that the impact of the short-term group experience had meaning for individuals. The director concluded his interview by saying that both the airfield and the base felt the impact of this particular club on general army life.

JUNIOR HOSTESS COUNCIL

This record is concerned with the Junior Hostess Council in a U.S.O. in Southern California. Because this U.S.O. was late in getting organized, the American Red Cross, private citizens, and certain service clubs had already recruited many hostesses in this town. Therefore, the U.S.O. did not recruit the "cream of the city." The junior hostesses in it were organized according to the nights on which they served, and a captain was appointed for each night. These seven captains came together as a junior hostess council. In addition, three girls who represented the Negro group in this U.S.O. were selected. The group met and served for a period of six months, after which another council was chosen. The council itself selected a chairman.

The purpose and objectives of the group were to serve as a clearing-house for activities, to plan activities for the entire junior hostess group, and to plan special parties. Approximately fifteen meetings were held, including a monthly meeting of the council. Most of the girls were business girls and war production workers. The group was interracial; most of the members were between 18 and 22. They shared the common interests of hostesses: service to enlisted personnel, serving in the same club, and enjoyment and recreation for themselves.

They planned the overall program for the U.S.O. They also planned a junior hostess training course. They cleared on the kinds of parties which could be held. Some of the special activities they planned were circus night, taffy pulls, waffle parties, fudge parties, sports nights, egg decorating, etc. Because this council existed toward the end of the U.S.O. operation, it helped to plan for the carry-over after the U.S.O. They had speakers from agencies to tell about their programs. Activities were initiated in two ways: within the council and on the nights the girls served as

hostesses. Most of the girls elected to the council were natural leaders on their own nights of hostess duty. All the members of the council had had experience with other groups.

The director believed that her role had already been defined, since the responsibility of this council was delegated to a staff person. She considered herself an adviser to the group, working with the chairman very closely and stepping into the group when there were heated arguments. Interests of the members were discovered through discussions. She helped the group in self-direction by dividing responsibility. She established her relationships by being free and available. She gained acceptance by serving refreshments the first night, and always planned to get to the meetings early and stay late. She was interested in each individual in the group, working through conferences and casual conversations before and after meetings. Group thinking was established by improving leadership. Relationships were directed among the members of the group by introducing one member to another and by dividing and giving responsibility. She interpreted failures of certain subgroups when they were late. The strengths and weaknesses of individuals were determined by staff discussion of those assigned to certain nights in the week.

In discussing the special approach required of the short-term groups, this director said that she used the skill of helping the group to focus. They had to be alert to what could be accomplished within certain time limits, because workers in the U.S.O. were called upon to work fast. She believed that part of her role was to teach groups to see the job to be done. She felt that in short-term groups there was an effort to push the leadership that was already there and also that a worker was required to have considerable skill in keeping the group from floundering. Personal relationships in short-term groups were somewhat lessened. The number and kinds of activities were influenced and were inclined to be of a single interest. Past experiences of the group members seemed to help sharpen the focus. Persons with past group experience tended to be more groupable. Time was not wasted, because there was little time for floundering around.

Twelve such group descriptions were analyzed according to the basic assumptions of the study and certain conclusions were reached. As to the origin and purpose of these short-term groups, it was discovered that all the groups arose because of a shared common interest or because agencies recognized needs and recruited or selected members for the groups. All the groups had purposes and objectives similar to those of longer-term groups. Participation in all of these short-term groups was voluntary.

All the groups had a very loose structure and new officers were elected frequently. Short-term groups tended to have a flexible type of organization, a type adapted to the carrying out of their purposes.

An assumption of this study was that, although the activities themselves would not differ, the duration of these activities would vary and there would be little chance of activities running concurrently. These short-term groups tended to be single-interest centered. The activities were initiated by the members of the group with some helpful suggestions from the workers, and they brought about the growth and development of such things as group feeling, skill in working together democratically, and a higher level of activities. The workers felt that the groups' recognized purposes had been achieved, and far more successfully than had been anticipated.

One of the factors which tended to make these short-term groups successful was that all the members in some of them and most of the members in all of them had had previous experience with earlier groups. When members of short-term groups have had previous group experience they become a part of the new group more easily.

Workers with short-term groups tended to make more use of the members possessing natural talents for leadership. All the groups in the study used the natural emerging leadership. The time limitation presented fewer opportunities for the development of other potential leadership. Hence, short-term groups do not provide leadership opportunities for all members of the group. The objectives of social group work which were the least fulfilled were those having to do with helping to socialize the individual through his association with others and providing opportunities for enlarging his areas of concern. A high degree of socialization of the group and the individuals in the group seemed to be difficult to attain in short-term groups. There was a limit to which a group could develop a social consciousness within a short period of time.

Without exception the workers with short-term groups felt that they had been able to help individuals within their groups. The evidence is in the many details the workers were able to recall about two particular individuals in their groups. They were particularly able to point up those personality needs which were brought out within the group. They were able to recall the ways in which the group itself helped the individuals and the ways in which the workers could be of help.

It was assumed that the role of the worker with these groups would be the same as the role of the worker with longer-term groups, and it was found that the role was similar. However, evidence was sought as to

whether or not short-term groups require a greater use of skill in quickened relationships and in helping the group sharpen its focus. The material showed that the workers were required to help the group to set its goals quickly, determine its activities, and form the kind of organization necessary to carry out its functions. Plans had to be made and programs carried through without delay, and at the same time workers had to be alert to the group's pace. It was evident that knowledge of a group's pace comes through experience, knowledge, and skill.

In summary, it was found that short-term groups within the U.S.O. tended to develop a simple organizational structure in keeping with the limited time during which they would meet. Their purposes, by and large, were in keeping with those of long-term groups; and their activities, while inclined to be single-interest centered, were much like those found in long-term groups. There was a tendency to use the natural leadership rather than to spread leadership opportunities. The past group experience of the members within the group tended to make these short-term groups cohesive. Even though most of the groups were heterogeneous, certain subgroups were identifiable. Opportunities were possible for individual development and workers were able to recall certain characteristics of individuals within these groups. More skill on the part of the worker in sharpening the focus of group and individuals was necessary, and there was greater use of skill in quickened relationships. The short life-span of these groups limits their power to develop social consciousness.

A SOCIOLOGICAL LABORATORY

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

University of Southern California

Ever since sociologists have been referring to their discipline as having scientific pretensions, the subject of a sociological laboratory has received increasing attention. For some time many sociologists have referred to their laboratory as the community itself. Even in beginning courses students have been sent into the community to gather data, sometimes to the annoyance of the people of the community and sometimes to the discredit of sociology.

Although in the full sense of the term the sociologist's laboratory is where people are interacting in the varied activities of life, yet most students are not ready to "experiment" with people in their associations of life. Although field studies for small groups of college sophomores have been organized under skillful guidance,¹ yet experience is making clear the point that few undergraduate "majors" in sociology and not many graduate "majors" have the backgrounds in theory and the skills to do real research in a community of people of all ages and types of personalities whose interactions are complicated beyond ordinary comprehension. It is generally not fair to a community, even though it be large, to throw hundreds of young and untrained students with pens and notebooks into it semester after semester. Most of the students gain only a superficial knowledge. It is no longer considered sociological research to ask students to measure window space in sleeping rooms in the "slums." It is only a person of wide human experience with a thorough knowledge of interviewing technique who can conduct a series of sociologically significant interviews with a person or obtain a valuable life history.

Therefore, sociologists are turning more and more to the development of "sociological laboratories" on college campuses. All the larger departments of sociology in American universities have made a start in this direction and a few have made considerable progress extending back over a term of years. Sometimes a number of related social science departments have joined in establishing a social science research laboratory, as in the case of the University of Chicago.

Two different functions are being served. Undergraduate majors in sociology need to learn the "feel" of laboratory research and to have

¹ As illustrated by Vivien M. Palmer in her important work, *Field Studies in Sociology, A Student's Manual*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1928.

space in which to chart data from annual and other reports dealing with social conditions, to make graphs of such data, to reduce data of local nature to cartographic form, to work as assistants with advanced research persons, to prepare ecological maps of local communities, and to learn how to use calculators and other laboratory machines. To meet these requirements a sociological laboratory needs to be roomy, to be located aside from the main campus halls, and to have numerous working desks and appropriate equipment. Considerable progress can be made in giving the qualified undergraduate insight into scientific methods of research in sociology. The expense need not be great.

The other function is of an advanced order. (1) The sociological laboratory meets the needs of advanced graduate students and of faculty members who are engaged in making special statistical analyses of sociological data. Hence, typewriters, adding machines, calculating machines, and so forth, are required. (2) It meets the needs of advanced research persons in the field of interview and life history materials. This program calls for specially built filing cabinets as well as for a regular filing system. Small rooms for interview purposes are also important. (3) It meets the needs of advanced research persons in human ecology. Drawing tables, materials, and special cabinets are necessary.

Any sociological laboratory calls for a special research library. The shelves need to include space for books on research, for monographs giving the results of research in many human fields, for annual and other reports from various welfare agencies, public and private, for classified local studies in typewritten form of advanced students and faculty, and for well-organized files of life history and interview materials dealing with many different aspects of human relationships. The library may also contain files for sets of newspaper clippings in several different fields.

The laboratory may become a depository for all kinds of local documents and studies. It need not be limited to studies made by advanced students and faculty of the given department of sociology. It may well become a place to which staff members and officials of local community organizations, both private and public, will naturally turn for reliable information. This feature suggests a small reading room as a part of the laboratory and a student attendant, for much of the research material in the laboratory cannot be easily duplicated and cannot be taken out of the laboratory.

The laboratory includes not only small conference rooms but a room for the director, and also a seminar room (with a table and chairs) for

the giving of seminar reports and the holding of group discussions without interruptions. Sociological research calls for frequent group comparisons of notes and ideas.

The laboratory needs ample wall space for exhibits of maps and charts dealing with local community conditions. These will be changed from time to time. Special exhibits may be given, with the students from other social science fields, and even the public, being invited to inspect the studies that have been put in visible and perhaps striking form.

The director of the laboratory is naturally an expert if not an enthusiast in doing research work. He is also a skillful leader in directing and stimulating the research work of others. Moreover, he may have some ability in obtaining funds for research from both local and remote sources. He needs to have a limited teaching schedule with time and freedom to attend sociological and research meetings and to visit headquarters of foundations which have research funds at their disposal. He also needs to collaborate with other social science departments and with the science departments in his university.

The sociological laboratory favors no one type of research method to the exclusion of other methods. In most cases it is equipped to bring to bear several methods upon a research problem. It utilizes statistical methods of gathering and analyzing data. It encourages wherever feasible the use of interview and life history methods. It emphasizes the use of experimental and control groups. It stresses bibliographical criticism as well as analytic and synthetic logic. It urges the stating and testing of hypotheses.

The sociological laboratory stimulates cooperative research. In fact, there is a strong indirect influence which functions in the direction of a continuous exchange of data, experiences, and ideas. The laboratory effects critical comparisons of methods of research and brings about new experiments in obtaining exactness in scientific procedures. Moreover, the sociological laboratory tends to develop a research feeling and even a fellow feeling among research workers.

The sociological laboratory is a place into which research data are more or less continually being brought by student and staff members and sent by social agencies. It is a place in which these data are being analyzed, classified, interpreted, and made available for use whenever a demand arises. It is a place for processing social data and putting reliable research materials into the form of available knowledge.

PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES

Brigham Young University

Mr. Ray R. Canning and Mr. Wilford E. Smith have been added to the department for 1948-49. Dr. Ariel S. Ballif is the chairman of the department. A successful Family Life Institute was held on the campus during the Summer Session, with Dr. Howard E. Wilkening as guest speaker.

University of California at Berkeley

In line with its plans for reorganization, the Department of Sociology and Social Institutions is adding three full-time staff members to its faculty for the academic year 1948-49. Professor C. Arnold Anderson, University of Kentucky, has accepted a one-year appointment and will teach courses on migration, social classes, the use of human resources, and a seminar on social policy and social action. Dr. Seymour Lipset, University of Toronto, will join the department as instructor and teach courses in urban sociology and research methods. Professor Wolfgang Eberhard, University of Ankara, Turkey, will join the staff under a Rockefeller Grant and teach courses in the social aspects of Chinese history and Chinese culture groups.

University of California at Los Angeles

The Regents of the University of California have authorized the Department of Anthropology and Sociology to grant the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in sociology, in anthropology, and in the two fields combined. Two numbers have recently been issued in the University of California series in *Culture and Society*, one by Dr. E. M. Lemert on the administration of justice to minority groups in Los Angeles and another by Dr. Leonard Bloom entitled "A Controlled Attitude-Tension Survey."

University of Oregon

Dr. Joel Berreman is conducting a study of the sociological and psychological factors in alcoholic addiction. Professor Jack Parsons spent several weeks during the summer in Vancouver, B.C., studying family wage practices in that city. Professor Moore is continuing his work on adjustment to retirement and has articles which are to appear in the *Journal of Geriatrics* and the *Journal of Gerontology*.

University of Redlands

Mr. William Klausner, candidate for the Ph.D. in the Sociology Department of the University of Southern California, has been appointed instructor and will teach some of the courses formerly taught by the late Dr. Glen Carlson. Ruth D. Tuck participated in the Intercultural Workshop at the University of Southern California this summer.

University of Southern California

Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, president of the American Sociological Society, was the visiting professor in the Intercultural Workshop during the Summer Session. Four new courses have been added to the curriculum of the department: Law and Society (Nordskog), Critique of Research Literature in Sociology (Locke), Problems in Marriage Counseling (Locke), and Graphic Representation and Analysis (Young). An intensively revised edition of *Sociology* is to be published early next year by the Macmillan Company for Dr. Emory S. Bogardus. A new text by Dr. M. H. Neumeyer on juvenile delinquency is to be published in January 1949. Research projects are being conducted in the social psychology of industrial relations by Dr. M. J. Vincent, in regionalism by Dr. B. A. McClenahan, and in status levels of minorities by Dr. Edward C. McDonagh. Three graduate students received the Ph.D. degree last June in sociology: Dr. E. C. Larsen, Social Studies Division, Los Angeles City Schools; Dr. J. W. Shaw, Social Science Department, Los Angeles City College; and Dr. Richard Nahrendorf, associate professor of sociology, Drake University.

University of Washington

Dr. J. F. Steiner, professor of sociology and former chairman of the department, retired at the end of the spring quarter as professor emeritus. Dr. Steiner will spend next year in Honolulu, where he will teach part time at the University of Hawaii. Dr. Norman S. Hayner left this summer for Mexico, where he will spend a sabbatical year studying community problems and social change. An Office of Population Research has been organized within the Department of Sociology under the directorship of Dr. Calvin F. Schmid. Dr. Ruth A. Inglis has been working on a survey of the use of films to promote international understanding, under the sponsorship of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Hoover Library and Institute of Stanford University. The Washington Public Opinion Laboratory has received six

graduate fellowships, carrying stipends of \$1,000, for training research directors. The Laboratory has appointed Dr. Joseph E. Bachelder, from the University of New Hampshire, codirector with Dr. S. C. Dodd, to take charge of the Laboratory in the State College at Pullman.

SOCIAL WELFARE

HOW TO THINK ABOUT OURSELVES. By Bonaro W. Overstreet. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948, pp. x+205.

Alarmed by our confusion about our own lives and our relations with others, Mrs. Overstreet has undertaken to present in this book a guide to the development of a personal philosophy for all who are willing to read it. Her discussion includes the problems of the individual as a product of his own particular culture and as a participant in the creation of tomorrow's culture. Creative contribution, habit mastery, and sound communication are presented as essential to personal and social adjustment; they are discussed with concreteness and lucidity.

Although the author uses analogy and illustrative example tastefully, the lay reader may accuse her of occasional pedantry. Perhaps the most pleasant feature of the work is the generous use of literary interpretation, both contemporary and classic, of human problems. The book is well organized, well written, and timely. It presents a concise plan, surprisingly inclusive in scope, for the resolution of inner tensions and the development of worth-while personal goals.

T. E. LASSWELL

WHAT HIGH SCHOOLS ARE TEACHING ABOUT COOPERATIVES: A SURVEY. By Frank W. Cyr and James H. Tipton. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1947, pp. 20.

Among the interesting findings of this survey, which was made in 133 schools in thirty-seven states, are that three out of four schools in small communities now teach about cooperatives, six out of ten teachers are now teaching about cooperatives, 97 per cent of the teachers and 98 per cent of the administrators in schools that now teach about cooperatives state that schools generally should teach about cooperatives, the majority of schools now teaching about cooperatives introduced the subject within the past ten years, and classes in which cooperatives are given most extensive attention are vocational agriculture, social studies, and home economics. The subject is welcomed most in those communities in which cooperatives are most developed.

TEACHING PSYCHOTHERAPEUTIC MEDICINE. Edited by Helen Leland Witmer. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1947, pp. ix+464.

An experimental pilot course in psychotherapy for physicians dealing with unhappy patients given at the University of Minnesota in April 1946 was automatically recorded, and, with some editing, the lectures and discussions are now offered in this book. Twenty-five physicians studied for two weeks with seven psychiatrists and two internists who gave daily lectures on such topics as the patient-physician relationship, the meaning and diagnosis of a psychoneurosis, common psychopathology, and the general principles of psychotherapy. In the clinic, patients with backache, headache, asthma, convulsions, disabling pain, and gastric distress were dealt with.

Although the book is intended for young physicians, who may learn from the expert psychiatrist how to handle better their emotionally upset patients, it may be useful also for those who in any capacity are called upon to advise persons suffering from mental distress or anxieties. Much of the material in the lectures on psychotherapeutic treatments is similar to that of the social psychology of suggestion. Some of the cases discussed in the clinic involve the bodily and mental tensions affecting personalities. For the general reader the verbatim reporting of the principal teaching materials and the ensuing discussion make for a kind of fresh, enlightening vicarious experience. Among the lecturers were Dr. Bauer of the Harvard Medical School, Dr. Brosin of Western Reserve University School of Medicine, Dr. Murray of Boston University School of Medicine, and Dr. Romano of the University of Rochester School of Medicine.

M.J.V.

MEDICAL AND HOSPITAL SERVICES PROVIDED UNDER PREPAYMENT ARRANGEMENTS: Trinity Hospital, Little Rock, Arkansas. By Margaret C. Klem, Helen Hollingsworth, and Zelma A. Miser. Washington, D.C.: Federal Security Agency, Bureau Memorandum No. 69, 1948, pp. 275.

Most of this report deals with the demand for preventive services, the degree to which consultations are held with physicians early in illness, the extent to which laboratory and x-ray facilities are utilized, and the amount of service provided for certain diagnostic groups. The data covers the years 1941 and 1942. It is on the basis of such studies as this that Mr. Oscar R. Ewing has been urging the adoption of health insurance for the wage earner eligible for Social Security benefits.

E.C.M.

THE PSYCHOANALYTICAL APPROACH TO JUVENILE DELINQUENCY: Theory, Case Studies, Treatment. By Kate Friedlander. New York: International University Press, 1948, pp. xxii+296.

The chief purpose of this treatise is to show which problems in delinquency can be solved by Freudian psychoanalysis and in what way sociologists and criminologists can make use of psychoanalytical findings in order to further their own investigations. A considerable part of the book is devoted to a statement of the psychoanalytical approach and its contribution to an understanding of the growth of the child, especially the child's development toward social adaptation and its failure therein. The wide use of the outmoded and generally discarded "instinct-theory" dates the author as well as the emphasis. Her discussion of the sociological approach is inadequate and somewhat misleading. However, her classification of environmental factors as primary and secondary has merit.

The primary factors which may lead to antisocial behavior are to be found chiefly in the relationship of the mother, and later on the father, to the child and in those other emotional factors which constitute early family life. Secondary factors include school and street life, bad companionship, and economic factors. The psychoanalytical treatment of offenders offers an opportunity to study the psychological foundation of antisocial behavior and the interaction of constitutional and environmental factors in bringing about character formation. The re-education of parents as well as of children offers the chief means of both treatment and prevention.

M.H.N.

AMERICAN OPINION ON WORLD AFFAIRS IN THE ATOMIC AGE.
By Leonard S. Cottrell and Sylvia Eberhart. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948, pp. xxi+152.

The purpose of this study was to determine the informational level of the American people on the implications of atomic energy. Two polls were conducted before the Bikini experiment and two after it. Both extensive and intensive polling devices were used. In some ways the intensive public opinion device is a new method of analysis. The respondent is not asked to select an answer from a list of four or five but is given an "open question," to which he may respond uniquely. It appears that the intensive interview penetrates beneath the opinion level and thus discovers the relation between attitudes and information. However, since it is difficult to classify "open answers," the statistical treatment cannot be used as easily as with fixed answers. Some reviewers may feel that intensive probing yields qualitative results, whereas fixed categories result in statistical tables of apparent precision. The validity of the two methods needs the attention of all doing research work in the realm of

attitudes. Perhaps the extensive interview ascertains what people think, the intensive interview why they think as they do.

According to this survey almost one third of the American people do not have a clear idea of what the purposes of the UN are. They accept the principle of international cooperation in generalities, but not in specific actions. Less than two in ten of those who had some notion of what the UN is were willing to turn over the "secrets" of the atomic bomb to the UN. The more education they have, the more they think that there will not be another war within the next twenty-five years. The Bikini tests had little influence on public opinion about atomic energy, but the imperialism of the Soviet Union seemed to affect public opinion decisively.

The appendix to the volume contains some excellent illustrative interviews and tabular material. In the Foreword by Frederick Osborn, Deputy United States Representative on the UN Atomic Energy Commission, special attention is called to the fact that the survey under review disclosed that about two million adult Americans had not heard of the atomic bomb. If reference is made to the normal distribution of intelligence, is this figure significant?

E.C.M.

WAR, POLITICS, AND INSANITY. By C. S. Bluemel. Denver: The World Press, Inc., 1948, pp. 121.

In his preface to this book Bluemel states that after the Democratic victory in 1932 a great number of politicians who lost their jobs committed suicide. This caused him to meditate upon the politician and his problems. Were these men manic-depressives, hypomanics, or constitutional inferiors? Why were they in leadership positions? What follows is an inquiry into the psychological qualities of political leadership and the personality disorders with which aggressive leadership is associated. Unfortunately, it is from his office window that Dr. Bluemel makes his psychiatric studies of the autocrats of the world, past and present. This makes him dependent on hearsay narratives. What he has to say about Joan of Arc, Oliver Cromwell, Hitler, and Mussolini is interesting enough if one has not heard it all before, but no more convincing than secondhand reporting usually is. He might have tried to entice a few live aggressors into his office and give them "the psychiatric works."

At any rate, his title is suggestive, and it might not be out of place to recommend that for the task of healing a sick world, some politicians who are attempting to act as statesmen should subject themselves to psychiatric consultation and treatment before they blow up themselves and the world with them.

M.J.V.

RACES AND CULTURE

THE CANADIAN JAPANESE AND WORLD WAR II. By Forrest E. La Violette. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1948, pp. 332.

Canada accorded its citizens of Japanese ancestry similar treatment to that initiated under General John L. DeWitt in the United States. Since the great majority of the 24,000 Japanese living in Canada resided in British Columbia, the coastal area was designated as a "defense zone" when Japan bombed Pearl Harbor. Japanese ancestry rather than Canadian citizenship became the test of loyalty. Because of the great fear of sabotage, it was purported, the Japanese would have to be evacuated from British Columbia. However, it took almost nine months to relocate the Japanese. Critics are still pondering the question of the economic liquidation of the Japanese as able competitors in business and agriculture. To some students of the problem the national defense argument for the evacuation of *all* persons of Japanese ancestry was nothing more than the conspicuous shibboleth of race prejudice.

About 10,000 Canadian Japanese were sent to the former ghost towns of Kootenay Lake and Slocan Valley. The complaints from the Japanese in these projects have been duplicated in the American relocation centers. Southern Alberta accepted a number of the Japanese as sugar beet growers where they made a real contribution. Others were sent to central and eastern provinces. When the war ended these provinces demanded that British Columbia take the Japanese back, and simultaneously the articulate and vocal pressure groups in British Columbia insisted that the Japanese never return. The book is a splendid complement to *The Spoilage* by Thomas and Nishimoto.

E.C.M.

WITNESSES FOR FREEDOM. Negro Americans in Autobiography. By Rebecca Chalmers Barton. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948, pp. xiii+294.

This book represents a unique undertaking, for it presents an analytical treatment of twenty-three autobiographies of Negroes, most of whom are recognized as leaders. A fourfold classification has been made under the following headings: The Accommodators, the Achievers, the Experimenters, and the Protesters for a New Freedom. In the first group appear such names as Booker T. Washington and William Pickens; in the second, Matthew A. Henson and Mary Church Terrell; in the third, W. S. Braithwaite and Claude McKay; and in the fourth, Frederick Douglass, W. E. B. Du Bois, Langston Hughes, James Weldon Johnson,

and Richard Wright. Not all readers will agree with the particular assignment given each person in this original list of four categories, and not all will feel that equal justice has been done to the twenty-three persons. Of course the autobiographical materials vary greatly in their importance. Perhaps the author could have done better had she not limited herself to autobiographies, for she has had to pass by outstanding representatives of each of her four groups.

Each of the four sections of the book is summarized in an original way. The four summaries in order are entitled "Peace at the 'White' Price," "Responsibility of Racial Worth," "Flights to Happiness," and "Searchlight on Society." The author reads extensively between the lines in the autobiographies and introduces incisive comments of her own, which will stimulate thought and lead to re-evaluations on the part of the reader. The "Protesters" are given topnotch recognition, while the "Accommodators" are accorded low status. In fact, the achievements and methods of Booker T. Washington are rated more largely against a revolutionary militancy standard of today than an evolutionary adjustment standard of Washington's own time. The book concludes with a need for an antismugness campaign, because "the indifferent, the apathetic, and the cynical can be as destructive as the hatemongers" and "the dilettantism of many liberals can be as paralyzing to progress as the downright opposition of conservatives." Despite its brilliance the book is a one-sided presentation.

E.S.B.

THERE IS ANOTHER CHINA. Essays and articles honoring Chang Poling of Nankai. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948, pp. 178.

This collection of essays, by twelve writers who have wide and authoritative knowledge of China, has been assembled and published as a tribute to Chang Poling of Nankai on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. Chang Poling, an outstanding educator in China, has been a leader in the fight against illiteracy and ignorance in that country. The authors, all of whom have known him through time of struggle and realize fully how noteworthy his achievements are, here elaborate not only his personal success but also the progress made in China, particularly in education, economics, agriculture, international relations, and medical science. The authors include such widely known men as J. Leighton Stuart, Hu Shih, Quincy Wright, J. B. Condliffe, and other recognized leaders in their fields. The book is instructive concerning changes in the China of the last half-century.

C. F. HO

RUSSIA IN FLUX. By Sir John Maynard. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948, pp. xx+564.

This book is based upon a combination of *Russia in Flux*, which charts the main currents of Russian thought up to the "October" Revolution, and the second of Maynard's great studies of contemporary Russia, *The Russian Peasant and Other Studies*. Both of these works have been edited and abridged by S. Haden Guest. It is a thesis of the author that freedom is divided between the Western democracies and the USSR and that freedom is incomplete in both. It is shown that Russia has her own ethical standards, to which her rulers must conform; they are not the standards of the West. Where Russia may make basic revolutionary changes at a stroke, the West would use slow, gradual processes. The organization of fear by the government is compatible with Old Russia, which was always rough; this would not suit the way of life or mentality of Western peoples. Planning in Russia is not new but has its roots in medieval Europe; the Bolsheviks were therefore not startlingly revolutionary when going back to the principle of regulation. The Communist party is functionally like a priesthood which provides a political education for the Russian peoples.

The author shows how endemic famine, poverty, and intellectual darkness have been for the Russian peasant. The emancipation of the peasant women is one of the factors of the Bolshevik success in collectivization. Russian character owes much to the philosophy of the Orthodox Church: all are responsible for all; the truth is an integral whole. The merging of the individual in the mass has led to a sense of absoluteness in Russian thought. The Russian people have become integrated and unified in a manner that is unique among nations.

The intelligentsia at first were agnostic, materialist, positivist, anything but formally religious; but a change occurred in the first decade of the twentieth century, when religion became associated with liberalism and with even more advanced forms of political thought. The principal Russian writers who have emphasized revolution or reform are evaluated with unusual insight to show their relation to the plain folk and peasant class and to indicate their contribution to the preparation of Russia for communism. A characteristic of prerevolutionary Russian thought was a note of religious expectation—that man must surpass himself. Man, in the philosophy of Russia, has become virtually a Messiah and thus completes the cosmic process. The Russian people have not only a hope but a profound belief that the kingdom of Heaven may be realized upon earth. The Russian people include all peoples in one transcendent unity.

While discussing the influence of Marxian doctrine, the author shows that what Marx himself meant is not so important as what his Russian followers and expositors understood him to mean. The Revolution of 1905, the Counter Revolution, and the Revolution of 1917 are discussed with a long view of trends which concern the people as a whole. The development of political and economic organization, the USSR, the party system, the problems of state economic planning, the collective farm, the Constitution of 1936, etc., are examined in such manner as to emphasize the continuity of a living Russian people and a Russian culture, in spite of the revolutionary phases which have been evident under the Soviet program.

The book as a whole offers one a well-balanced interpretation of Russia. Maynard is one of the best-informed writers concerning the history and modern development of Russia. The book invites reading for the countless details which support the observations made above as well as many others. The publishers are to be commended for reprinting the important sections of two studies which provide a necessary perspective for understanding the program of the USSR.

J.E.N.

ICELAND, NEW WORLD OUTPOST. By Agnes Rothery. New York: The Viking Press, 1948, pp. vii+215 and 25 photographs.

World War II brought Iceland within the range of interest of many Americans, and Agnes Rothery has shown why Iceland is an interesting center of life and activity. She has made vivid the people and their manner of living from Reykjavik in the southwest to Akureyri in the north. History and folklore are introduced in order to make clear current customs and traditions.

Icelanders are seen to be individuals and lovers of independence who have banded together in national loyalty and, to a remarkable extent, in a cooperative economy. However, private commercialism still widely obtains and government ownership has had a marked growth. All three types of economy—private cooperative enterprise, private profit enterprise, and government enterprise—flourish together, and each appears to be functioning on its merits in free competition with the other types. "Everyone takes the cooperative societies as a matter of course." Banks, telephones, radio, electricity are nationalized and an old-age pension system includes everyone past sixty-seven years of age.

The Icelandic State Service, the University of Iceland, the National Theater, the Edda in poetic and prose parts which gives not only the myths and legends of Iceland and Scandinavia but a history of the

world and an analysis of poetry—all date back to 1200 A.D. or earlier. The remarkable continuity of the language—since before 1000 A.D.—gives an unbroken literary background for the current splendid educational system.

Miss Rothery reminds her readers that Iceland discovered America in 1000 A.D. but that it has taken America almost a thousand years to discover Iceland, which has the oldest Germanic language in the world and is "the oldest first democracy north of the Alps," and "one of the newest independent republics."

The photographs in the book are not only artistic but effective in illustrating some of the important culture patterns of our neighbors, the Icelanders.

E.S.B.

AMERICAN HISTORIANS AND EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS 1875-1925.

By Edward N. Saveth. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948,
pp. 244.

Until a quarter-century ago, most American historians wrote on immigrants in an incidental, unscientific, and more or less prejudiced fashion. The few who concentrated their attention on the theme were filiopietistic chroniclers who failed equally to measure the role of immigration in American history.

Dr. Saveth has conscientiously searched the works of the classic American historians from George Bancroft to E. P. Oberholtzer, and has catalogued their ideologies. He has found two major schools—one stemming from Herbert Baxter Adams of Johns Hopkins University with its tremendous emphasis upon the Teutonic origins of American institutions and the other centering around Frederick Jackson Turner and his thesis that the frontier fused those persons of diverse European origins into an American people.

The Teutonic hypothesis was widely accepted. Ironically enough, many historians utilized it to rule out even Germans and to assert the superiority of the governmental institutions and racial strains that had come to them through Anglo-Saxon England. Closely allied to this theory was that of Social Darwinism: the fittest and most enterprising of these Anglo-Saxons had come to America and here evolved the most perfect form of these institutions. All those of other blood and background were a menace to these people and their incomparably perfect government.

Turner had many precursors, most notably Francis Parkman and Hubert Howe Bancroft, but it was he above all others who turned the attention of historians from the forests of early Germany to those of their own country. He too would subscribe to an application of

evolutionary theories to American society, but felt that, thanks to the frontier environment, the effect was to modify or obliterate European characteristics and develop a distinctively American people.

Even Turner worried about the effect of the huge numbers of Southern and Eastern Europeans pouring into the urban slums. Henry Adams, lamenting the machine age, tended to blame its maladjustments upon the Jews, and many another historian gave way to blind and vicious prejudices. Modern historians, aided by the sociologist's scientific techniques, are beginning to develop accurate accounts of immigration, but the earlier hypotheses Dr. Saveth so accurately enumerates are still unfortunately current.

FRANK FREIDEL

Vassar College

MAN AND HIS WORKS. *The Science of Cultural Anthropology.* By Melville J. Herskovits. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1948, pp. xviii+678+xxxvii.

In this magnum opus on cultural anthropology the author "moves from a discussion of the nature of culture, its materials, and structure, to a consideration of the processes of change that characterize it, and the general principles that govern cultural change." He defines "principles" as relating to those forms and relationships of human culture that are universal, and "laws" as based on principles and as relating to sequences in cultural change on which predictions can be based. He ventures cautiously into the field of principles but stops short of laws, for there are so many variables to be considered in anthropology that "laws" as reliable bases for prediction cannot be formulated except by making many qualifications.

The book contains thirty-eight chapters, sixty-six figures, and thirty-one plates. There are fifteen pages of "literature cited" and a list of "selected titles." The topics deal with the nature, materials, structure, and aspects of culture, with cultural dynamics, and with cultural variation. The printing is unusually well done (by the Kingsport Press, Kingsport, Tennessee).

Perhaps a few of the generalizations may be presented as results of the author's long and extensive work in cultural anthropology. (1) Cultural anthropology is customarily divided into ethnology, which deals with the comparative study of culture and the investigation of resultant theoretical problems, and ethnography, which deals with the descriptions of individual cultures. (2) Culture is universal in human experience, but each region has unique manifestations of it. (3) Culture largely determines the course of human lives, "yet rarely intrudes into conscious

thought." (4) Culture "is the learned portion of human behavior." (5) A culture is "the way of life of a people," and a society is "the organized aggregate of individuals who follow a given way of life." (6) Enculturation is the process by which an individual "achieves competence in his culture." (7) Experience "is interpreted by each individual in terms of his own enculturation." (8) A race is "a principal division of mankind, marked by physical characteristics which breed true." (9) Since all human races are mutually fertile, "lines of demarcation are blurred." (10) The problem of racial superiority is outside the anthropologist's concern, for it involves value judgments which vary from race to race and from person to person. (11) A language is "a system of arbitrary vocal symbols by which members of a social group cooperate and interact." (12) Diffusion is "the study of achieved cultural transmission" and acculturation is "the study of cultural transmission in process." (13) Cultural focus is "the tendency of every culture to greater complexity and intensity" in some particulars than in others. (14) Cultural drift refers to minor alterations that occur slowly and produce change; historic accidents are abrupt innovations. (15) Culture is "the instrument whereby the individual adjusts to his total setting and gains the means for creative expression."

Sociologists will find the treatise exceedingly useful but will not agree at all points: for example, with the author's use of *custom* to include both customs and traditions, his use of the term *animal sociology*, or his definition of *socialization*. They may take exception to his treatment of basic racial differences and of racial superiority. They may believe that he claims too much when he discusses culture in terms of dynamics and that he does not place enough emphasis on change that comes when people are unaware of enculturation. However, these points do not detract unduly from a work that is truly a masterpiece.

E.S.B.

MEN OUT OF ASIA. By Harold S. Gladwin. New York: Whittlesey House, 1947, pp. 390.

The American Indian is robbed of his glorious past by the astute reasoning of Gladwin. Both facts and imagination are used to support the central thesis that the American Indian is a comparative newcomer to this continent. Since the ethnic groups that compose the Indian are recent migrants to this part of the world, they did not have enough time to invent independently all the cultural traits attributed to them. Hence, the volume turns out to be a treatise on the logic of cultural diffusion and the absurdity of independent invention of intricate cultural

traits. Ethnic groups of special significance to North America are the Australoid, Folsom, Algonquin, Eskimo, and Mongoloid.

It is suggested that the prototypes of traits in North America, north of Mexico, were almost exclusively confined to China and Northeastern Asia. On the other hand, the prototypes of the cultural traits of distinction in Mexico, Central America, and the Andean region can be traced almost exclusively to Polynesia, Melanesia, India, and the Near and Middle East. Inasmuch as many of the distinctive South American traits were not known before the time of Christ, it is assumed that they were carried to South America rather than invented independently in that short span of time. The following traits were probably borrowed rather than invented independently: specialized types of metallurgy, temple pyramids, hieroglyphic writing, calendar systems, the concept of zero, weaving techniques, and various ways of painting pottery. Gladwin would have the reader look at the cultural traits of the Australoids, Melanesians, and Polynesians and note that these peoples visited South America.

The book is cleverly written, contains 145 humorous line drawings by Campbell Grant, and is academically blessed by an introduction by Ernest A. Hooton. Unfortunately, the lay reader is likely to get the impression that all academic anthropologists accept the independent invention of cultural traits and disregard the possibility of cultural diffusion. College professors are too well aware of the possibility of cultural diffusion during examinations to be guilty to the point that Gladwin seems to imply.

E.C.M.

ASPECTOS DA ACULTURACAO DOS JAPONESES NO ESTADO DE SAO PAULO. By Emilio Willems. Sao Paulo, Brasil: Universidade de Sao Paulo, 1948, pp. 115.

This splendid monograph presents data from a study made just before the outbreak of the war with Japan of 6,023 Japanese children in 220 public schools of Sao Paulo. The children in these schools were mixed Brazilian and Japanese except in seven schools where all the children were of Japanese parentage. On the whole, the distribution of the Japanese was not unfavorable to assimilation.

Many interesting facts are presented; a few will be noted here. (1) Forty-one per cent of the pupils were living in different *municípios* from those in which they had been born. Evidently considerable spatial mobility on the part of the parents had been taking place. (2) Upon entering school, 30 per cent of the pupils already spoke Portuguese without difficulty; 42 per cent used both Portuguese and Japanese in answering

questions; and 29 per cent were unable to write in Japanese. (3) About 30 per cent were Christian (Catholic). (4) About 55 per cent preferred Brazilian *festas* and 45 per cent Japanese festivals. Many Japanese children did not know or could not explain the meaning of Japanese festivals and were little acquainted with Japanese folklore. (5) Inter-marriage of young people was limited, due in part to "the absence of any pattern which would favor the spontaneous meeting of the sexes." (6) The study shows many local variations in the development of assimilation, which are explained by "the age of the settlement, its inner structure, degree of isolation, leadership, and the general economic development of the area."

Further studies in this field are needed. Inquiries about attitudes involved in intergroup relationships are next in order. Dr. Willems and the University of Sao Paulo are to be congratulated both for their pioneering research activities in the field of race relations and for the sharing of the results with students in other universities in other countries.

E.S.B.

SOCIAL THEORY

INTRODUCTION A LA SOCIOLOGIE. By Jacques Leclercq. Louvain: Institut de Recherches Economiques et Sociales de l'Université de Louvain, 1948, pp. 272.

Professor Leclercq has chosen to present an approach to sociology which emphasizes the historical and philosophical bases of present-day sociology. The book has ten chapters, the first three presenting a brief résumé of the historical development of sociology with emphasis on the French and German schools. In the next five chapters the author defines sociology and its special fields and discusses some of its main philosophical bases. His discussions of "free-will" and the nature of social phenomena as scientific "facts" are particularly enlightening. The last two chapters are a brief treatment of the problem of the sociologist's orientation and his methodological tools.

No attempt is made to familiarize the student with sociological concepts and technical terms. The author's emphasis is upon the philosophical premises from which sociological generalizations draw their validity. He emphasizes the independence of sociological truths from those of other disciplines. This book seems to be an interesting introduction to sociology and to give the beginning student a broad approach for more specific readings in the field.

CLAY FRANKLIN

LAS CLASES SOCIALES. By Lucio Mendieta y Nunez. Mexico, D.F.: National University, 1947.

Las clases sociales (The Social Classes) of Lucio Mendieta y Nuñez of the Institute of the Social Investigations of the National University of Mexico with an Introduction by Pitirim A. Sorokin is a brief but lucid essay in which the author undertakes to give an adequate conception of the social classes. He begins by making a critical review of the various definitions of the social classes given by Gumplowicz, Engels, Weber, Spengler, and Sorokin. His own conception of a social class is that of a quasi-organized group in which the members are bound by identical economic and cultural bonds. In true Aristotelian tradition he divides the social classes into superior, middle, and inferior.

We are in full agreement with Mendieta y Nuñez in his insistence that the sociologist must accept the distinction between groups and classes. The classes are a stratum or natural formation in the sense that they appear without any premeditated plan, whereas the groups are conscious aggregates who voluntarily organize themselves with a purpose.

SAMUEL M. ORTEGON

RURAL LIFE IN PROCESS. By Paul H. Landis. Second edition. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1948, pp. xx+538.

A rapidly changing rural scene—in which World War II was but one major factor—has necessitated a new edition of this well-known textbook. Population changes, the growth of regionalism, developments in rural welfare, changes in national agrarian policy, and particularly the effects of rural migrations have kept American agriculture in a highly dynamic state. The author has assembled the essential factual material and has treated it conceptually. In short, the student is not overwhelmed with a vast mass of descriptive material has been provided with a scheme for understanding rural life through a systematic analysis in terms of social-psychological and cultural factors. Interrelationships with town and city life are carefully canvassed. In fact, this volume should give the student something much needed, a clear picture of the attitudes and values of the dwellers in the hinterland upon which city life so largely depends but with which it finds itself too frequently in conflict.

The treatment of problems of rural welfare is scientific and not reformistic. The bibliographies, an index, and many questions for review and discussion make the volume a very usable textbook. There are many well-executed charts, graphs, and illustrations, which further enhance the value of the book to students.

E.F.Y.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF FRANCIS BACON. By Fulton H. Anderson. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948, pp. vii+312.

It is too bad that Professor Anderson did not enter into the romantic atmosphere of Elizabethan England when studying Sir Francis Bacon. If he had, he might have invested this book with a style that would have made for sprightliness instead of dullness. He is scholarly, however, and makes it decisively clear why Bacon's philosophy "marks the parting of the ways between ancient and modern thought." Although hampered by a lifelong financial embarrassment, Bacon was determined to work for the good of mankind and the relief of misery. He refused to deny himself any luxuries for the attainment of his goal and found himself forever in debt, even though he was employed in political capacities by his two sovereigns, Elizabeth and James I. He spent most of his life in formulating plans for the new type of science which would bring truth and happiness to mankind, and in attempting through dulcet flattery to persuade his two sovereigns to furnish the means for the furtherance of his plans.

Some thirty-odd philosophical works have been examined, none of which was completed according to the original design. First traced are Bacon's efforts to reform the methods of learning and the sciences, followed by an analysis of the major ideas in his works. Most interesting, perhaps, is Bacon's plan for his *Great Instauration*, designed to classify and review the sciences, offer a new inductive method, and show how to proceed with his new method of investigation for gaining insight into the knowledge of causes and the secret motion of things, the forerunner of what is known as "operationalism" today.

Some of the chapters dealing with the attacks of Bacon on Plato, Aristotle, and the Post-Aristotelians may offer nonphilosophically trained students pretty difficult going. The book throws a great deal of light on seventeenth-century thought and, in particular, assesses the virtues of Bacon's influence on modern thought. Among other things, Bacon, according to Anderson, made the following contributions: (1) affected the course of experimental truth-seeking from a quarter of a century after his death; (2) implemented the dissociation of British science from magisterial learning; (3) defined the ends of education in terms of high utility, meaning thereby the happiness and relief of mankind; and (4) established and habilitated naturalism as a free philosophy with station rights and privileges. When Bacon submitted his *Novum Organum* to James, that sovereign stated that Bacon's thinking was comparable to the peace of God—"which passeth all understanding."

M.J.V.

URBAN SOCIETY. By Noel P. Gist and L. A. Halbert. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1948, pp. xiv+570.

The third edition of this well-received text is not only a genuine revision of its predecessor, but it maintains the same high standards that resulted in its sixteen printings. Chapter sequences have been rearranged, factual data revised in light of new research findings, and two new chapters added, one dealing with urban trends and the other with the urban class system. A generous number of splendid illustrations add a distinct interest.

Gist and Halbert have the happy combination of presenting conflicting theories in such a way that common-sense conclusions almost invariably emerge. This ability is well illustrated in the discussion of the theories of Burgess and Hoyt on urban ecological processes and is again observed clearly in the chapter on urban class systems. This revision makes this text perhaps the most comprehensive, factually recent, and interestingly written book in the field.

E.C.M.

SOCIOLOGIA DE LA UNIVERSIDAD. By Roberto Agramonte. Mexico, D. F.: National University of Mexico, 1948.

According to the author, a university is essentially a universe, a *universum*; although diverse it becomes combined in one. The university is four things: knowledge, culture, technology, and life. University knowledge is the source of all the intelligent action of society. On the other hand, to be cultured means to have an inner dynamism which culminates in the cultivation of the higher life. It is the task of the university to interpret all of our material civilization, not in terms of a blind force, but in terms of a superior life. University life means the achievement of objectives which the individual considers superior, worthy, and nobly useful.

We disagree with Dr. Agramonte's conception that "the struggle for culture, as all the other forms of struggle, is a struggle for the best position." He who does his best in his scholarly researches has his best rewards in his achievements.

Of particular interest is the author's suggested reformation of the educational system of the Latin-American schools with respect to sociology. He insists that sociological studies should be introduced in the elementary schools and cites as an example of success of such procedure, the elementary schools of North America where social studies have been taught since 1922. Sociological subjects are suggested also for the secondary schools.

SAMUEL M. ORTEGON

PERSONALITY IN NATURE, SOCIETY, AND CULTURE. Edited by Clyde Kluckhorn and Henry A. Murray. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948, pp. xxi+561+x.

The title suggests the point of view of the book. Instead of thinking of personality and culture, for example, the authors emphasize personality in culture or as a dynamic aspect of culture. In other words, personality is viewed as a dynamic organismic part of nature, of society, and of culture. In its dynamic nature personality is formed as a result of four major determinants and of the interactions of these determinants. The four so-called determinants are constitutional, group-membership, role, and situational. In presenting these factors and forces and their interactions the authors offer materials of their own and source materials from thirty-nine investigators in psychiatry, psychoanalysis, anthropology, psychology, education, and sociology. Sociology is represented by Talcott Parsons, Robert K. Merton, John Dollard, and Donald Horton. The editors state that the papers included have been chosen from a total of about 1,000. One finds some overlapping, some differences in terminology and interpretation, and numerous gaps, but this is to be expected in a source book. Each of the contributions is neatly introduced by the editors and carefully related to the basic theme of the book.

(1) The term *constitutional* is used in preference to *hereditary* and is defined to include "the total physiological make-up at a given time" and to represent "a product of influence emanating from the germ plasm and influences derived from the environment (diet, drugs, etc.)." (2) The term *group-membership* includes the influence that culture "bears with approximate constancy upon all the members of a relatively stable, organized group" and the influence that comes from continuous "exposure to a social environment." However, the reader is asked to keep in mind that group-membership is an abstraction and that its alleged influences emanate from "particular members of the group" with whom an individual has contact, and from a person's "conceptions of a group as a whole." (3) The role determinants are defined by the culture. They are "a special class of group-membership determinants" and include such roles or functions "as those assigned on the basis of sex and age, or the basis of membership in a caste, class, or occupational group." (4) The situational determinants "include things which happen a thousand times as well as those that happen only once—provided they are not standard for a whole group," such as a father who is much older than a mother, an only child, or a casual contact on a streetcar. The authors stress the interdependence of the determinants and give a number of papers which

illustrate this interdependence, but together these papers do not cover the subject, because very little if any experimental material which comprehends the interdependence of the four given sets of determinants is yet available.

Personality is defined variously — for example, as "the product of inherited dispositions and environmental experiences," with the understanding that these experiences occur "within the field of the individual's physical, biological, and social environment, all of which are modified by the culture of his group." The question may be raised: Is personality a product? Perhaps it is an integration and not a mathematical result. Again, personality is defined as "a dynamic resultant of the conflict between the individual's own impulses (as given by biology and modified by culture and by specific situations) and the demands, interests, and impulses of other individuals," but this definition is both general and subjective in its terminology, and hence does not measure up to operational standards. Moreover, is this use of the term clear and accurate?

While statistical methods, particularly the contingency method of statistical prediction, play a prominent role in a few of the papers, the family-history method occupies the first place of importance. It is supported by the specialized twin-study method and is supplemented by the comparative culture method of the anthropologist. Although aiming to be inclusive and balanced in presentation of the various aspects of personality, the psychoanalytic approach predominates, with the result that the sociopsychological factors receive inadequate attention. However, the book contains important materials that the social psychologist needs to take into consideration.

E.S.B.

THE RISE AND FALL OF THIRD PARTIES. By William B. Hesseltine.
Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1948, pp. 119.

Third parties are examined and found wanting. Upon review they fail because only a segment of society is included in their membership and leadership.

Four concepts are needed in the organization of an effective third party: opposition to the police state, devotion to democratic processes, insistence upon complete social responsibility, and civil liberty. These concepts make possible reforms based on sound research and regionalism. The author believes that, since it lacks a coherent program of reform and due consideration for regional differences, the Wallace party offers liberals only an opportunity to cast a protest vote. He observes that today "something more than oratory and mere opposition is needed."

E.C.M.

TWO-WAY STREET. The Emergence of the Public Relations Counsel. By Eric F. Goldman. Boston: Bellman Publishing Company, Inc., 1948, pp. 23+vii.

It takes Professor Goldman just twenty-three pages to tell the story of the development of the public relations counsel in the United States, but those pages are filled with rewarding reading. They are stimulating in the sense that they call for expansion. As those who have studied the field of public opinion are aware, the predecessors of the public relations counsel were the press agent and the publicity man. The author declares that the press agent had the idea of fooling the public, the publicity man that of informing the public, and the public relations counsel is supposed to forward the idea, "the public be understood." Somehow or other, as things have worked out, the three roles have no sharpened separateness. The counsel has thus far failed to gain complete acceptance by the public because of (1) the ancestry of the unsavory press agent, (2) the tendency to knock down an activity which attempts to save society from its stereotypes, and (3) cultural lag in the acceptance of the public relations counsel in the most socially useful form. Singled out for field references are Ivy Lee and Edward L. Bernays. Goldman suggests that the field, if it is to achieve its full social possibilities, must do something for itself in the way of public relations.

M.J.V.

WHAT IS PSYCHOANALYSIS? By Ernest Jones, M.D. New York: International Universities Press, 1948, pp. 126.

Ernest Jones fulfills his purpose of leaving the reader "in no doubt about what psychoanalysis really is." Representing the very core of orthodox Freudian psychology, Jones presents this theory of the unconscious in so simple and direct a manner as to give the reader a sense of the clear-cut lines of a diagram.

The Introduction discusses the confusions generated by the fact that the word *psychoanalysis* is used to denote three things: a special method of medical treatment, a technique for investigating the deeper layers of the mind, and an area of knowledge that has been gained through the use of this technique.

The first part of the book presents the content of psychoanalysis, i.e., the unconscious, repression and conflict, sexuality, dreams, etc. That this is done in thirty-five pages is an achievement, which might have been more useful if the author had published this book twenty years ago when it was first drafted. The presentation of ideas is so skeletal in form that it rather limits its usefulness to the beginner.

The second half of the book discusses the contributions of this theory to medicine, education, anthropology, sociology, criminology, law, politics, art, mythology and folklore, and religion.

The Addendum, written in 1947, is the most interesting part of the book to this reviewer. It sketches the emphases in research in the past twenty years. Dr. Jones carefully presents two extremes of emphasis: that on internal factors as illustrated in the study of very young children and that on external factors as illustrated in the study of the influence of social institutions upon expressions of personality.

ROSE GREEN

Graduate School of Social Work

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF RUMOR. By Gordon W. Allport and Leo Postman.
New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1947, pp. xiv+247.

Dame Rumor is herein led to the psychological clinic, where she is subjected to thoroughgoing analytical treatment in the modern manner. Experimental investigation of her was undertaken by Allport and Postman because of the problems she created during the late war. No systematic treatment had ever been undertaken previously.

Rumor—defined as a “specific (or topical) proposition for belief, passed along from person to person by word of mouth, without secure standards of evidence being present”—is shown to have been guilty of spreading such grim tales that national morale was threatened. Two basic conditions for her survival are (1) the theme must have some importance for both speaker and listener and (2) the facts must be shrouded in some kind of ambiguity. Three motivations behind rumor are (1) softening of immediate emotional tensions through verbal outlets; (2) protecting and justifying emotions which the possessor finds otherwise unacceptable for harboring; and (3) providing a broader interpretation of a puzzling environment, thereby making it seem intelligible. The most dependable defense against rumor, the authors declare, is a “generalized skepticism of all hearsay reports.” It seems strange that Messrs. Allport and Postman did not hit at the idea of status while discussing motivation, for the rumor spreader may be seeking it.

The materials for the most part are given in lively fashion, especially those dealing with the psychological experiments and the seven case studies offered for developing skill in rumor analysis. As a factor of communication, the subject of rumor assumes a note of importance for the student of social psychology. No mention is made of the relation of rumor to gossip or to whispering campaigns.

M.J.V.

LOS PARTIDOS POLITICOS. By Lucio Mendieta y Nunez. Mexico, D.F.: National University of Mexico, 1947.

Los partidos políticos (The Political Parties) is another of the series of sociological essays of the Institute of Social Investigations of the National University of Mexico. The author introduces his essay by saying that it is not a work of erudition but represents a desire to express personal points of view based on historical antecedents and personal observations on data following the teaching of Herman Haller. His definition of a political party identifies him as a social realist. His classification of political groups into rightists, leftists, and centralists is somewhat arbitrary. The careful analytical exposition of the origin of the political groups is interesting and reveals a keen study of present-day political phenomena. The discussions of the organization and discipline, the leadership, and propaganda of political groups are unusually interesting.

SAMUEL M. ORTEGON

PERSONALITY IN POLITICS. Studies of Contemporary Statesmen. By Arthur Salter. London: Faber and Faber, 1948, pp. 253.

The author's underlying thesis is that "history is the net result of the interaction of impersonal forces and the personalities of those who are in positions of authority." Not only is a leader the representative of social forces but, as in the case of Churchill, he "resists a hopeless drift till he ultimately reverses it." "Circumstance" and "personality" loom large throughout these able analyses of twenty-two leaders (nine in England, six in the United States, three each in China and France, and one in Italy), all of whom the author has known personally. To this gallery in which the author has placed men like Churchill, Keynes, Bryce, Lloyd George, and Ramsay MacDonald, like Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, like Clemenceau and Briand, and like Mussolini, one could wish that his personal acquaintance had permitted him to add Hitler, Lenin, and Stalin and thus to have brought together a more complete group of the political leaders who have been engaging in momentous interaction of world-wide import during the fifty years and more of the author's lifetime.

The author modestly states that he has brought together anecdotes and impressions; but he has done far more, for he has brought to bear on his wealth of personally experienced materials an objective analytical ability, a wide knowledge of statesmanship, and a brilliant literary style. Not a set of miniature biographies but a portrayal of two or three characteristics of each of many notable political leaders has been the aim. Each leader is

characterized by a significant term: such as Lloyd George, Dynamic Imagination; Neville Chamberlain, Appeasement; H. G. Wells, Apostle of a World Society; Woodrow Wilson, the Inflexible Will; Franklin Roosevelt, Courage and Improvisation; Mussolini, the Technique of a Dictator. Concerning Mussolini he concludes that the dictator gradually became "the victim of his bombast, the dupe of his own dope," and "History records no more tragic example of the inexorable logic of absolute personal power."

In a final chapter certain qualities are cited as being more generally characteristic of these leaders than other qualities, namely, courage, personal magnetism of one type or another, and strength of purpose and will. Sociologists would give a larger role to social forces and would point more specifically to a field of force in which leaders are vital elements, but they will not be able to characterize personal leadership qualities more effectively than has been done in this portrait gallery.

E.S.B.

SOCIETY AS THE PATIENT. By Lawrence K. Frank. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1948, pp. xiv+395.

Thirty essays, written during the past quarter of a century by Dr. Lawrence K. Frank, vice-president of the New York Academy of Science, comprise this book. All reflect what he calls the psychocultural approach to an understanding of the individual and the society in which he lives. The collection's principal merit lies in the stimuli that may be given its readers by the Frankian ideas embedded in a philosophy that "locates the dynamics of social life in individuals, living in a social and cultural field which they themselves maintain." His phrase, "plasticity of culture," meaning that individuals may create their own designs for living, is peculiarly fitting for these times when so many are fighting to maintain in the face of threatening social change a stubborn and resistant traditional adherence to many worn-out cultural patterns. His admonition to social scientists who go on plotting to achieve "an elegant order, regularity and constancy" in their fields because the physical scientists have been able to do so with natural materials patterned aeons ago is especially worthy of attention. What he calls the "principle of incongruity and disorder in human affairs" must first be recognized if system and regularity are to be achieved in the social sciences.

Writing on designs for education, the author ironically enough declares that just as "the Supreme Court assumed the office of interpreting the Constitution and thus became an agency for perpetuating the ideas of the eighteenth century, so the schools and colleges have become the

bulwarks of our institutions, the deliberate instruments for a social coercion of intelligence." What is needed is to discover how to use the past for enlightenment instead of being coerced or frustrated by it.

Finally, tribute to the arts and particularly the drama is paid. George Bernard Shaw would applaud the following: "Only the dramatist, speaking with the power of aesthetic expression can effectively focus the attention of a group and organize and redirect their emotions through the catharsis he provides." The challenge, how to develop "a social order in which the recognition and conservation of human personality may be achieved" is one which must be met if a democratic society is to maintain itself.

M.J.V.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ABNORMAL BEHAVIOR. A Dynamic Approach.
By Louis P. Thorpe and Barney Katz. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948, pp. xvi+877.

In this monumental work on abnormal behavior the authors have achieved comprehensiveness, clarity, and sanity. Because of these characteristics and its up-to-dateness, it not only is unsurpassed but will hold a place for years at the top level of texts in its field. The scope of this work is amazing. One would have to search far and wide to find important themes relating to "the dynamics of aberrant behavior" that are not treated in this book. As the authors state, the emphasis throughout is on the dynamic aspects of human life as they are expressed in marriage, home, school, and other institutions. The materials deal with psychogenic backgrounds, organic psychoses, etiological factors, psychiatry and psychiatric methods, latest objective and projection tests, treatment of war neuroses. The literature in all these fields has been canvassed thoroughly, and a remarkable degree of organization of the research studies of many scholars including the research of the authors themselves has been accomplished.

Abnormal psychology is defined as "a science concerned with the investigation and study of deviations of human behavior." This is an unusually satisfactory statement in view of the fact that the term *abnormal psychology* represents so much condensation that it becomes a contradiction in terms, for the psychology of any aspect of life, if it be viewed in scientific terms, cannot be otherwise than normal. In the discussion of the various topics many points of view are presented. They are generally examined in the light of their operational significance.

The style is clear cut, direct, and inviting. Scientific terms are used freely but are usually defined so that the student cannot misunderstand their meanings. A useful and valuable glossary of about 500 technical terms is included.

The book is important not only as a text but as a foundation for the study of personal disorganization and of the relation of personal disorganization to the wide ranges of social disorganization and reorganization as conceived by sociologists. Consideration of the origins of aberrant behavior in social disorganization is an important field for further investigation.

E.S.B.

FATHERLAND. By Bertram Schaffner. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948, pp. xii+203.

Carrying the subtitle, *A Study of Authoritarianism in the German Family*, this book reports on those aspects of German culture which fostered the growth and development of Nazi thought. The study was made by the author while serving as psychiatrist for the Screening Center, established by the Information Control Division of Military Government in Germany from February through August of 1946. The methods employed were intelligence measurement, Rorschach personality testing, psychiatric study and observation, and tests designed to investigate and reveal political attitudes. Forty-two per cent of the candidates came from the middle and upper-middle classes, 20 per cent from the upper classes, and 38 per cent from the lower classes, with a majority of all living in the American zone of occupation or in the American sector of Berlin at the time of testing.

Some of the findings are as follows: German family life revolves around the "figure of the father," with the mother playing a secondary role; the German boy must learn to acquire the behavior appropriate for his superior status as a male; the German is taught that his loyalty belongs to the German state and that the German way of life is superior to all others; German youth attitudes indicate that they need most a substitute for the lost-father symbol, a symbol that Hitler was careful to apotheosize; and that "National Socialism was a sequential growth out of German culture." The idea stressed is that no basic change can be made through the process of so-called denazification, that the Germans need to see themselves as others see them. The author believes that they are quite unaware of the restricted and regimented life they have been leading. The democracies are faced with the difficult task of altering an old, deeply imbedded culture. No one can foresee or predict the outcome of the present effort to alter the German mind.

The appendices of the book furnish the testing materials employed by the Screening Center and offer some typical case histories of the candidates.

M.J.V.

EL MUNDO HISTORICO SOCIAL. By Juan Roura Parella. Mexico, D.F.: National University of Mexico, 1948.

El mundo historico social (The Historical Social World) is a Mexican interpretation of the Diltheyan philosophy of history. It could be well called a critique of historical reason. After a brief historical survey of Dilthey and his method, the author gives an interpretation of the fundamental aspects of the philosophy of Dilthey, which he divides into four parts: Life and Living, Image of the Human Soul, The Conception of the World, and Fundamentals of the Science of Spirit.

The fundamental thought of Dilthey is found around the concept of living (*vivencia*). Living constitutes the most immediate and primary type of relation of man with his world, it is an awareness of the total psychic reality in a given situation. As to the conception of the human soul, it is conceived as a *novum*, new life which does not begin in biology. The soul is distinguished from the organism by the unitary inner life of living. Living (*vivencia*) takes us out of the world of the physicochemical phenomena. That which separates man from nature is this living, in which is found the sovereignty of the will, responsibility of acts. This *novum* reality typical of man has the property of becoming an object, thus giving place to historical reality.

With regard to the conception of the world, Dilthey says that "life creates in each individual its own world." Every conception of the world is a theoretical projection of conscience. Finally Dilthey divides the world into two great sectors: nature and spirit. The sciences of the spirit deal with the objective spirit or that which is commonly called culture. This objective spirit is in constant flux: it has history. So, for Dilthey, history is essentially history of spirit.

SAMUEL M. ORTEGON

METHODS OF PSYCHOLOGY. Edited by T. G. Andrews. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1948, pp. xiv+716.

For the explanation of some of the major aspects of methodological procedures in psychology, the services of twenty-one psychologists have been enlisted by editor and psychologist Andrews. The first chapter by Andrews offers a neat performance in rehearsing the search for both common and differentiating factors utilized in the experimental, differential, and clinical methods. Materials furnished by the contributors have been organized so as to present the methods and techniques employed in (1) investigating learning and thinking; (2) sensory and perceptual research; (3) animal behavior or motivation on the lower

level; (4) motivation, feeling, and emotion; and (5) individual differences. Discussing the backgrounds of scientific method, he declares that "whenever the scientist poses an hypothesis for investigation, designs an experiment, arranges precision instruments for purposes of recording, statistically analyzes the quantitative results of the investigation, and makes references about behavior on the basis of the experimental results, he is making a large number of critical assumptions that are based on some one or another philosophical presuppositions," and that . . . "the more abstract tools are inextricably mixed with philosophy."

Dr. Heidbreder's discussion of methods of studying human thinking is particularly enlightening and well presented as is Dr. Rosenzweig's essay on the subjective and objective methods of investigating and appraising personality. Social psychologists will be particularly interested in Newcomb's chapter on studying social behavior. Newcomb asserts that the social psychologist as a scientist has the task of "discovering the conditions under which the individual behavior varies in response to social stimulation." The behavior of groups as a whole is not in the field of social psychology inquiry, he says, a statement which will surprise some social psychologists recruited from the field of sociology. In a sense, the book may be regarded as a kind of recording agent for the most prominent psychological methodological procedures now in use with the added advantage of appraisal for each.

M.J.V.

OUTLINE OF CULTURAL RURAL SOCIOLOGY. By Carle C. Zimmerman. Cambridge: Phillips Book Store, 1948, pp. iv+87 (mimeographed).

In this brief outline the author has attempted to indicate the "historico-causal sequences" which have operated in the development of American agriculture and to provide students with a few essential readings that are not readily accessible. The treatment is highly conceptualized, with emphasis on such concepts as immanent causation, thesis, antithesis, and new thesis. The available space, however, is inadequate for the author to more than state his theory and illustrate it briefly, the result being a highly abstract treatment, at times pedantic and frequently unconvincing.

Modern life has broken with its past at so many points that present situations can be understood only in part as consequents of antecedent conditions, except in the most general and unspecific way. Rather, the student needs to understand the operation of a whole series of new, non-historical factors which have a habit of appearing without warning on the modern scene, such as inventions, discoveries, dreamlike idealizations, free imagination, new energy releases—physical, biological, psychological, and cultural. These new forces have burst through ancient frames of

reference, pushed out to new horizons, and then have been remobilized along still newer and different lines which disregard conventional limitations and push on to still newer frontiers. To understand American agriculture the student needs to pay closer attention to such matters as the impact of the new soil physics, soil microbiology, chemurgic developments, regional organization, plant and animal hybridization, agricultural engineering, and ecological decentralization. Contemporary social arrangements depend more on these factors than on vestigial cultural remnants from feudal agrarian life and struggles or on the doings of Greek and Roman ruralists of the classical period.

One can readily agree with the author's insistence that the study of rural life is of great importance to urban dwellers as well as to agriculturists.

E.F.Y.

RESOLVING SOCIAL CONFLICTS. Selected Papers on Group Dynamics.
By Kurt Lewin. Edited by Gertrud Weiss Lewin. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948, pp. xviii + 230.

In this volume, the first to be published of the writings prepared by Lewin after he arrived in the United States in 1932, the papers deal with practical aspects of psychosocial life; another volume will contain Lewin's more theoretical essays. Mrs. Lewin has done a commendable piece of editing and organizing. In her preface she refers to her husband's "consistent search for the laws and dynamics of human behavior," particularly from the viewpoint of "tensions." The Foreword, written by Gordon W. Allport, states that the unifying theme in these essays is that "the group to which an individual belongs is the ground for his perceptions, his feelings, and his actions." He adds that "Lewin's explanatory concepts are, broadly speaking, of three types." They are topological in nature, that is, they involve "spatial relationships without regard to quantitative measurement." The first refer to "space of free movement," "life space," and so on; the second to "systems of tensions within the individual"; and the third to "field forces," that is, to "motives clearly depending on group pressures," "barriers" or the "obstacles to individual action owing to group restraints," and "locomotion" or the "changing of the individual's position with reference to the group."

In the first paper Lewin distinguishes between the national psychology of Germany and that of the United States. He points out how the personality structure of the typical German differs from that of the typical American. The "peripheral layers of the American show less resistance against communication from another person," while the typical German's

personality has a central, private region that is harder to enter. The social distance between different persons in the United States is less as far as the peripheral regions of personality are concerned but perhaps as great if not greater as far as the central regions are concerned.

Changing persons in the direction of democratic living is the theme of three of the essays. Such a change involves altering the inclusive group structure, values, and leadership. The culture of individuals or of small groups "can be changed deeply in a relatively short time, but not so with reference to a whole nation." To change the individual it is necessary to approach him "in his capacity as a member of groups. It is as a member of a group that the individual is most pliable."

Basic ideas are presented in each of the remaining essays, especially in those dealing with conflicts in marriage, in industry, and between majority and minority groups. The last chapter, on "action research," is especially stimulating. The series of discussions is incomplete and not well connected but important for sociologists to consider carefully.

E.S.B.

AN OUTLINE OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. By Muzafer Sherif. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948, pp. xv+479.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. By Wayland F. Vaughan. New York: The Odyssey Press, 1948, pp. xviii+956.

Psychologists are rapidly learning that the field of sociology has harvested some choice materials for them to mark in their own unique manner and then present in a psychological bag labeled "social psychology." This is a commendable enterprise, for it gives added impetus to the notion that obtaining knowledge about human behavior must be a collective undertaking if a practical science of human behavior is finally to emerge. And there is nothing like lively competition to spur on such efforts. These two latest texts written by psychologists offer good evidence on this point.

The two texts carry with them marked points of similarity as well as marked differences. Sherif's definition of social psychology as a subject dealing with "the experience of the individual in relation to social stimulus situations," is, for instance, almost identical with Vaughan's definition, i.e., "the study of the human being in social situations." Sherif glances at the problem of motives, biogenic and sociogenic, at the beginning, while Vaughan introduces his work by calling attention to the behavior of the individual in the social situation. Both authors stress the scientific and experimental methods of research and both make valuable comments on scientific methods. Writes Sherif: "The supercilious attitude of the strict divorce of pure and applied science is nothing more than a self-conceited

exhibition of aloofness by certain scholars." Writes Vaughan: "The experimental approach is not limited to laboratory investigations, though persons with a naïve conception of science are prone to think of the scientist as strictly a laboratory technician . . . Accurate knowledge of human behavior can be gained only by including the approach of the field worker: observing individual persons in their everyday contacts, in the home, in the school, in the market place . . . Unfortunately crowds, strikes, elections, wars, and similar mass phenomena cannot be duplicated in the laboratory . . . Qualitative (non-quantitative) reports may give us just as true an account of reality as that attained through the experimental methods of the laboratory."

Fine concrete illustrations from actual behavior situations elaborate both texts. Specific emphasis in Sherif's book is placed upon attitudes by way of his discussions upon ego involvement, adolescence, and prejudice; that in Vaughan's is placed upon social values in the social, individual, and institutional patterns of behavior. One of the most profitable discussions in Sherif is that on motives, while Vaughan's discussions on values and the art of living and the unemployment of intelligence are among his best. Perhaps the student of social psychology from the sociological school of thought will find Vaughan's book more familiar so far as the general range of materials and topics is concerned—suggestion, crowds, fashion, custom, and convention being included. Both books are illustrated, especially that by Vaughan. Gardner Murphy writes the introduction for psychologist Sherif, claiming for this author the contribution of the approach to social psychology that is almost universally accepted today, which may not be necessarily true.

M.J.V.

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